

Dr. Katju: That is right.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Minister will make a statement.

Shri S. S. More: If he makes a statement, we cannot be in a position to ask any questions.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let us see.

Shri Vallatharas: May I make a submission, Sir? Of course, so far as the ruling of the Chair is concerned, absolutely, we obey the Chair. There is no question about that. There are people who do not see eye to eye with the present occurrences in Delhi city and also the connected occurrences inside the country. As the hon. Prime Minister observed, it is a matter of concern. Instead of dismissing all these motions on technicalities, I would welcome the hon. Prime Minister's suggestion that the matter be gone into so that a party stands condemned or absolved. That is the proper method. I would request the Chair to allow the motion and give an opportunity to the House to discuss it instead of sitting at a later stage and indulging in a discussion of the matter. I see much courage in the Prime Minister's observations and I do welcome the suggestion.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: This is merely a suggestion. Government is entitled to make a suggestion that we do not want to hide anything. Equally, it is open to any hon. Member here to know exactly the details. Therefore, the first step is this. There are certain allegations which find place in the newspapers. That matter has been read out by Mr. More. Therefore, let us know the facts as to exactly what happened, before the House can think of anything else. There is no intention on the part of the Government as is evident from hon. Prime Minister's statement, either to shirk or burke any issue. Therefore, we will have a statement from the hon. Minister. We will proceed to other business.

DEATH OF SHRI N. C. CHUNDER

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I regret to have to inform the House of the death of Shri N. C. Chunder who was a Member of the old Central Assembly. I desire on behalf of the House to express our sense of the loss on the passing away of Shri Chunder and to convey our condolences to his family. The House may stand in silence for a minute to express its sorrow.

MESSAGE FROM THE COUNCIL OF STATES

Secretary: Sir, I have to report the following message received from the Secretary of the Council of States:

"In accordance with the provisions of sub-rule (6) of rule 162 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Council of States, I am directed to return herewith the following Bills which were passed by the House of the People at its sitting held on the 3rd March, 1953, and transmitted to the Council of States for its recommendations and to state that the Council has no recommendations to make to the House of the People in regard to the said Bills:

1. The Appropriation (Railways) Bill, 1953.
2. The Appropriation (Railways) No. 2 Bill, 1953.
3. The Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1953."

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—contd.

Shri Tulsidas (Mehsana West): I thank you for calling upon me to make a few observations on the Budget. Much has been said in favour and against the proposals contained in the Budget and also on the general aspects of the Budget. But, we cannot dispute one thing. Since Mr. Deshmukh took over the charge of the finances of the country, we have had a remarkably stable financial policy.

I have to make this observation, that since the hon. the Finance Minister has taken over the charge of the finances of the country, the one satisfaction in the country is that there is a stable financial policy with regard to all the aspects. He has also shown great skill in adapting the financial policy to the needs of planning with the fewest possible changes.

Last year the hon. the Finance Minister observed that the general level of taxation in this country was very low. I would like him to appreciate that the general satisfaction on the Budget is due to the fact that he gave an indication to the public and the country at large that there was going to be further increase in taxation. I am not surprised that there is no further taxation. He mentioned last year that the general level of taxation in this country was very much lower than in

other countries. He also gave examples of different countries. I know that the Budget proposals have not made any provision for increase in taxes. In other countries the general level of taxation is higher than ours—there are countries like England where the general level of taxation is much higher. But let us not forget that the *per capita* national income is very much higher there. In England, the *per capita* national income is about Rs. 3000 and the taxation is about 40 per cent. of the national income. In France, the *per capita* national income is Rs. 2,400 and the general level of taxation is 32 per cent. In India, of course, our *per capita* income is Rs. 254 and our general level of taxation is as pointed out by the Finance Minister, seven per cent. of the national income. There are other factors than *per capita* national income which are also important and in my opinion, these comparative figures should be interpreted with caution. I wish to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to the fact that there are countries in South East Asia whose level of taxation is about the same or lower than in India, though the *per capita* national income is much higher. I would like the Finance Minister to take note of this. In Malaya the *per capita* income is Rs. 1240 while 6.6 per cent. of its national income is taken away as tax. Its income is about five times of what it is in India. In the Philippines the *per capita* income is Rs. 750—thrice of what it is in India—and the taxation is eight per cent. of the national income.

I am only trying to show that the general burden of taxation in India is not low. The general burden of taxation in this country is quite high, if you take into consideration the fact that India is one of those countries in which the *per capita* income is the lowest. Therefore, in my opinion—I am sure the Finance Minister has appreciated the point of view in his Budget—Unless the *per capita* national income is increased, the level of taxation cannot be increased. Increase in level of taxation must follow the increase in the *per capita* national income and not precede it. Well, I know that the Planning Commission has taken note of that and I am sure the Finance Minister has also done the same.

Then, I would like to point out that the taxable capacity in the country is not so much as to make available resources by way of taxation for the implementation of the Plan. To that extent, I consider that the financial proposals in the Plan are impracticable,

because they involve an increase in the general level of taxation in anticipation of a rise in the national income. I am referring to this because the Plan suggested certain taxation, particularly in the States. The proper approach will be to increase the level of taxation only after the rise in the national income envisaged in the Plan materialises. As the general level of taxation cannot be increased I feel that we shall have to consider what are the other resources that would be available for the country. In this connection, we should see if Government can borrow and get resources in that way. Here again it is quite evident that borrowing has not been as successful as it has been envisaged in the Plan.

I would like the Finance Minister to take note of one more point. The other day my hon. friend to my right pointed out that there was inequity in the distribution of tax, direct or indirect. I know the Finance Minister made certain observations in the Upper House, but I would also like to mention here that in view of the fact that the general level of taxation is already high as I have already pointed out, the burden of taxation is not equitable. Therefore, the direct or indirect taxation has to be viewed from that angle. In 1947-48 on the highest income group the taxation level was 92 per cent. including BPT, income-tax and super-tax, while even today the highest income group pays 78 per cent. But if you compare this with other countries particularly countries in which my hon. friend to my right is always interested, in Russia the direct taxation is about 11 per cent—maximum—that is, on the income, while most of the imposts are by way of indirect taxes. Even in our country indirect taxation also comes off on certain commodities which are being distributed only among a limited strata of society. Therefore, all indirect taxation is not on the whole mass of the country. Much of it is only on a limited strata of society. To that extent, the proportion which my hon. Friend has suggested is not correct. Though the proportion has gone down since 1947-48, still it is not correct to suggest that the whole mass is being taxed on the basis of indirect taxation.

The Plan has suggested new levy of taxation including agricultural income-tax, estate duties, land revenue, betterment levies, sales tax and it has indicated that about 165 crores of rupees would be made available by the States. Here again, the States have found it impracticable to impose some of these

[Shri Tulsidas]

taxes and they have not been able to realise the taxes as envisaged in the Plan. When I refer to these points of State taxation I am not going beyond the purview of this House, because I feel that if we have to implement the Plan—and I am sure every Member of this House is very desirous of having the Plan properly carried out—it is but proper that the entire country, whether it is the States or the Centre, whether it is the public sector or the private sector, all must co-operate together and all the resources which are available in the country should be made available for the implementation of the Plan.

According to the Plan as it goes, the State Governments should raise Rs. 408 crores during the Plan period in current revenue surpluses. Here again, according to the figures available, they have not been able to raise these current revenue surpluses to the extent envisaged in the Plan. Therefore, I do not know how it would be possible to find some of these surpluses.

I must welcome the appointment of a Taxation Inquiry Commission. I am sure the terms of reference will be wide enough. But, I would like to suggest to the Finance Minister that the terms of reference should be so wide as to cover the assessment of the effect of sacrifices on revenues either on Constitutional grounds as in the case of the salt duty, or on idealistic grounds, as in the case of excise duties in the States. I would also suggest that the Taxation Inquiry Commission should go into the question of whether the present form of the Budget should be changed or not. In my opinion the present form of the Budget is not as clear as possible and I think it would be desirable if the Commission goes into the question whether the presentation of the Budget should be changed from the manner in which it is presented today so that it would be more explicit to the people.

I have already pointed out that the taxable capacity of the country is not as high as some people imagine and make out. It is therefore absolutely necessary that economy in expenditure in practically every region must be very thoroughly effected. Here again, I find that even though it has been mentioned that steps are being taken to avoid wastage of funds or to see that the estimates do not go up, it does not give the correct picture because I do not know exactly to what extent the economy in administrative

expenditure is carried out. I find that the expenditure on the administrative side has been going higher and higher and we are also getting the reports of the Audit Committees, of the Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee which do not indicate how far the claim of the Government that every thing possible is done to control expenditure is justified.

I also want to know whether the Government has got any proposal to secure the efficiency in State enterprises. Here again, I would like the hon. Minister to see whether it is possible to make any formula or any basis on which the State enterprises should be properly conducted and to find out whether the expenditure is properly made. I also find that whenever any healthy criticism or whatever criticism is made with regard to the States, resentment is felt. I found in the debate in the Upper House one of the Members resented the criticism made against the policies of the State. I feel that the order of priorities must be maintained as it is in the Plan and everybody whether in the States or here should take the criticism in the light of these priorities and should not resent the same. Otherwise, I am afraid, the Plan as a whole cannot go forward as we all desire to have it.

I would also further like to know from the Finance Minister about the proposal of raising the funds by treasury bills. I am rather confused at the way it has been pointed out in the Budget. I would like to know fully how these resources can be made available, whether these treasury bills will be subscribed by the Reserve Bank only or whether these will be thrown in the open market.

I find during the last two years the current Revenue Budget is generally put up in a most sound and conservative way. But, I am afraid, I cannot say the same for the Capital Budget. The figures, in my opinion, are rather very unreliable. They change very much and they do not really give the impression that the Budget is as reliable and as sound as the current Budget.

I now come to the question of deficit financing. I find that already up till 1951-52 and 1952-53, the over-all deficits in the Centre and the States come to about Rs. 200 crores. If we increase it further by Rs. 140 crores, as it is anticipated in this Budget, for the next year's Budget, plus Rs. 18 crores

on account of payment that we are to receive from Pakistan, I am afraid the deficit will be much larger and will reach almost the figure of what is envisaged in the Plan at the end of this year.

Then, practically at the end of the two years of the Plan, the expenditure is very much larger than in the last two years and in the next year. Therefore, we shall have to increase deficit financing for the last two years, to a very much greater extent than what we have done up till now. What I feel is that the Finance Minister should rather give us a clear picture with regard to deficit financing that is intended so that we will not get confused in that sphere.

4 P.M.

With regard to deficit financing, I would like, if I may, to warn the Finance Minister of one thing, and that is, that deficit financing is a potential source of inflation. We are resorting to it with the idea that we may be able to get some foreign aid or that we may be able to increase production. To the extent we can get foreign aid and to the extent we can increase our production, I agree that there is less chance of inflation, but then if unforeseen things happen and we do not get the things we want from outside and increased production does not take place, there is the potential danger of inflation. I know that the Finance Minister is fully aware of the situation, but I am simply warning him that deficit financing, without any control on the things that I have mentioned, would have a very dangerous effect on the country's economy.

I would now like to refer to defence industries. Here again, I find from the progress made by the defence industries that the position is not encouraging. I am rather disappointed that these industries are not making enough progress. There are industries, called defence industries, which are managed by the Ministry of Defence, and there are also others which are vital and strategic to the defence of the country. These industries are not making enough progress, and we have to depend on foreign countries for getting the things we want for defence. This is rather not a very happy situation. Industries which are vital to defence should be properly encouraged and should be put on such a gear that our requirements with regard to defence can be made available within the country itself. When I say "defence industries", I mean both the private sector and the public sector. I do hope

that the Finance Minister will see to it that these industries make enough progress, so that we will not have to depend on outside sources.

As regards the other part of the industries, I am very glad to see that we have now re-started the *swadeshi* movement. I hope that it will be carried forward not only with regard to manufactured articles, but also with regard to the personnel and the technicians. We have the requisite technicians and personnel in this country, and if, as far as possible, we can employ the personnel and technicians in the country, it would be much more desirable and wise, and we should encourage them as far as possible.

I have made by observations only on a few points in the Budget, because I did not wish to dwell on the points made by several other hon. Members. I felt that these were the rather important points, and therefore I made them. I do hope that the Finance Minister will, in his reply, be able to give a clearer picture.

श्री बी० पी० सिन्हा (मुंगेर सदर व जमुई) : मैं अर्थ मंत्री द्वारा प्रस्तुत इस बजट का समर्थन करता हूँ। समर्थन इन कारणों से करता हूँ कि इस बजट में कोई ऐसा नया कर नहीं है जो गरीबों पर भार स्वरूप हो। साथ ही साथ इसमें पंचवर्षीय योजना का भी समावेश है, यह भी हमारे लिये हर्ष की बात है, लेकिन इसमें भय की एक बात है अर्थात् पाकिस्तान से प्राप्त होने वाली १८ करोड़ की राशि भी है। इसके लिये मैं अर्थ मंत्री से प्रार्थना करूँगा कि वह इस बात को ध्यान में रखें कि यह धन निश्चित रूप से हम को मिल जाय।

स्वराज्य प्राप्ति के पांच वर्ष बाद भी हमारे बहुत से प्रश्न, वस्त्र की समस्या, अन्न तथा शान्ति की समस्या, अभी हल नहीं हो पाये हैं। इस के लिये गवर्नमेंट प्रयत्नशील है यह भी आनन्द की बात है। लेकिन साथ ही साथ रोटी तथा शान्ति की समस्यायें लोगों को बहुत विकल कर रही हैं यह भी हम जानते हैं। स्वराज्य के बाद विदेशों में हमारा

[श्री बी०पी० सिन्हा]

सम्मान बढ़ा है, और हम में स्वाभिमान की भावना भी आई है। लेकिन साथ ही साथ रोटी की समस्या अगर हल भी हो जाय और शान्ति की समस्या हल न हो पाये तो भी हमारी केचैनी बनी रहेगी। इसके लिये भी हमें प्रयत्नशील होना चाहिये। आज देश में अशान्ति तीन कारणों से है, हमारी अशान्ति के तीन कारण हैं, एक तो पेशेवर लोग हैं जिन का काम ही चोरी डकैती करना है और इन अपराधों के जरिये से वह अपनी जीविकोपार्जन करते हैं। दूसरे वर्ग में वह लोग हैं जो किसी कारण से गवर्नमेन्ट से असन्तुष्ट हैं और उन्होंने एक गिरोह बना लिया है। तीसरे वह लोग हैं जो अपाचुनिस्ट (Opportunist) हैं अर्थात् जो शासन की जगह में आ कर बैठ गये हैं और जिन के अन्दर सेवा की भावना नहीं है, वह देश के अन्दर बैठे हुए अशान्ति फैलाते हैं। इन सब का निराकरण इस प्रकार से हो सकता है कि जो पेशेवर लोग हैं उन को दमन के साथ शान्त किया जा सकता है। जो लोग असन्तुष्ट हैं उन को प्रेम और सद्भावना से सन्तुष्ट किया जा सकता है। लेकिन जो लोग शासन की जगह बैठे हैं और देश में अशान्ति मचाये हुए हैं उन का निराकरण दूसरे तरीके से हो सकता है। मेरा सुझाव इसके लिये यह है कि शासन के जो तीन अंग हैं अर्थात् लेजिस्लेचर (Legislature), एग्जिक्युटिव (Executive) और जुडीशियरी (Judiciary) उन को एक दूसरे से बिल्कुल पृथक् कर दिया जाय। जब तक वह तीनों एक दूसरे से पृथक् नहीं होंगे, देश के अन्दर शान्ति नहीं हो सकती और डिमाक्रेसी (Democracy) की भावना नहीं फैल सकती। आज जो लोग एग्जिक्युटिव पद पर हैं प्रकारान्तर से जुडीशियरी

और लेजिस्लेचर भी उन्हीं के हाथ में है इसलिये मेरा ऐसा विश्वास है कि देश के अन्दर शान्ति की स्थापना नहीं हो सकती है।' यह तीनों एक दूसरे से स्वतंत्र होना चाहिये और जब तक ऐसा नहीं हो सकेगा हम देश के अन्दर शान्ति की स्थापना नहीं कर सकेंगे।

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो बहुत से कानून हमारी राज्य सरकारें बनाती हैं जो कान्स्टिट्यूशन के फंडामेंटल राइट्स (Fundamental Rights of the Constitution) के विरुद्ध हैं और राज्य सरकारें उन की अवहेलना कर के कानून बनाती हैं। मेरी प्रार्थना है कि प्रधान मंत्री एक ऐसी कमेटी बनायें जिस में लीगल विशेषज्ञ हों अर्थात् कानून के जानकार हों। वह इस बात की जांच करें कि राज्यों में कोई ऐसा कानून न बनने पावे जो हमारे विधान की अवहेलना करता हो। हमारे किसी भी राज्य को विधान की अवहेलना कर के कोई कानून बनाने का नैतिक अधिकार नहीं है, ऐसा मेरा विश्वास है। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं दो एक कानूनों का हवाला देना चाहता हूँ। मेरे बिहारी दोस्त मुझे माफ करेंगे क्योंकि मैं बिहार की समालोचना जान बूझ कर नहीं कर रहा हूँ। मैं उस की चर्चा केवल इसलिये करना चाहता हूँ कि उस से हमारी गरीब जनता पिसी हुई है और इस संसद् में उस का बतलाना मैं जरूरी समझता हूँ। हाल ही में सुप्रीम कोर्ट (Supreme Court) में साठी के कानून की जो अबस्था हुई है वह आप को मालूम ही है। दूसरे कानून का नाम जो मैं लेना चाहता हूँ वह है जनरल जंगल कानून। बिहार सरकार ने सन् १९४६ ई० में जंगल का कानून बनाया और फिर साथ ही साथ सन् १९४७ ई० में उसमें संशोधन किया।

लेकिन उस के ऊपर भी संतोष न होने पर सन १९४९ ई० में एक और ऐक्ट बनाया है जिस को वैलिडेटिंग ऐक्ट (Validating Act) कहते हैं। उस के अनुसार सरकार को अधिकार है कि बिना कोई सूचना दिये हुए किसी को भी सम्पत्ति ले सकती है। मैं कहता हूँ कि यह कानून सत्य और न्याय की कसौटी पर खरा नहीं उतर सकता है। वह कोई भी ठीक कानून नहीं हो सकता लेकिन फिर भी बिहार का जो वैलिडेटिंग ऐक्ट है उस के अनुसार बिहार सरकार को यह अधिकार है कि जिस की सम्पत्ति हो बिना उस को सूचना दिये हुए उस की सम्पत्ति को ले सकती है। उस कानून की अंग्रेजी इस प्रकार है :

"No proceeding or action taken under sections 15, 21 or 30 of the Bihar Private Forests Act, 1947 or under any other section of any of the said Acts from the respective dates of commencement of the said Acts to the date of commencement of this Act shall be deemed to be invalid or shall be called in question in any court or proceeding whatsoever merely on the ground that a copy of the notifications under section 14 of any of the said Acts was not served on the landlord or that there was any defect or irregularity in the service."

आप देख सकते हैं कि इसमें विधान की अवहेलना की गई है। इस जंगल के कानून को यदि हम जंगली कानून कहें तो अत्युक्ति नहीं होगी। इसी तरह के और भी कई कानून बिहार में हैं। क्रिमिनल प्रोसीड्योर (Criminal Procedure) के रहते हुए उसके पैरेलल एक कानून बनाया गया है जिसके अनुसार एक साधारण कर्मचारी जिसका कि मासिक वेतन ६० रुपये से कम है वह भारत के किसी भी नागरिक को पकड़ कर जेल भेज सकता है। हमारे पास ऐसे बहुत से उदाहरण हैं कि इस तरह से बहुत से लोगों को भेजा गया और इसकी वजह से जनता

में त्राहि त्राहि हो रही है। आज मैं अपने प्रधान मंत्री से यह निवेदन करूंगा कि वह एक कमेटी बनायें जो यह देखे कि राज्य सरकारें जो कानून बनाती हैं वह फंडामेंटल राइट्स के विरुद्ध तो नहीं हैं, वह उन का अतिक्रमण तो नहीं करते हैं। हो सकता है कि जिन के पास पैसा है वह सुप्रीम कोर्ट में जाकर उसका रिड्रेस (redress) करा लें लेकिन हर किसान और जनता के पास इतना पैसा नहीं है कि वह सुप्रीम कोर्ट में जाकर रिड्रेस करा सके। इसलिये हम समझते हैं कि भारत सरकार का यह फर्ज है कि वह उस कमेटी द्वारा यह जांच कराती रहे कि जिन मौलिक अधिकारों की घोषणा की गयी है उनका किसी राज्य सरकार को अतिक्रमण करने का अधिकार न हो।

दूसरी समस्या हमारे सामने अन्न और वस्त्र की है। मैं आप के सामने भूमि समस्या के हल के सम्बन्ध में अपने कुछ सुझाव रखना चाहता हूँ। आज हमारे सभी लोग समझते हैं कि हमारी भूमि समस्या जमीन के बंटवारे से हल हो जायगी। हम कहते हैं कि आज जमीन के बंटवारे से भूमि समस्या हल हो सकती है। आज सरकार की भूमि की अनिश्चित नीति के कारण ही उत्पादन में कमी हो रही है। आज भूमि समस्या को हल करने का सब से बड़ा उदाहरण विनोबा जी हमारे सामने रख रहे हैं उसको सरकार को बहुत ध्यान पूर्वक देखना चाहिये। सत्य और अहिंसा के जरिये हम ने स्वराज्य हासिल किया। अब दूसरा चमत्कार तब होगा जब विनोबा जी के हृदय परिवर्तन द्वारा भूमि का पुनः वितरण हो जायगा। आज संत विनोबा जी को पूरा विश्वास है कि सन् १९५७ तक हृदय परिवर्तन के द्वारा सात करोड़ एकड़ जमीन प्राप्त कर सकेंगे और बांट सकेंगे। समाजवादी नेता श्री जय प्रकाश नारायण भी भूमि कानून की बात नहीं करते

[श्री बी० पी० सिन्हा]

हैं। उनको भी संतोष है और वह कहते हैं कि हृदय परिवर्तन के द्वारा हमारी भूमि समस्या हल हो सकती है। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं सरकार को केवल इतना ही सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि वह मैक्सिमम सीलिंग (Maximum ceiling) फ़िक्स कर दे कि इतनी ज़मीन से कोई अधिक ज़मीन नहीं रख सकेगा। और किसानों को यह छूट दे कि वह सन् १९५७ के अन्त तक अपनी अधिक से अधिक ज़मीन को स्वेच्छा-पूर्वक गरीबों को बांट दें और उतनी ही ज़मीन वह रखें जितनी ज़मीन रखने का उन को कानून के अनुसार अधिकार मिला हो। मुझे इस बात का पूरा विश्वास है कि महावीर और बुद्ध की भूमि में आज फिर त्याग की भावना प्रबल होगी और हमारी ज़मीन की समस्या हल हो जायेगी। आज ऐतिहासिक बात को तो जाने दीजिये। हमारे सामने पूज्य बापू जी और देशबन्धुजी का उदाहरण मौजूद है। आज अखबार में निकला है कि रामगढ़ के राजा ने एक लाख एकड़ ज़मीन विनोबा जी को दान दी है। यह धनी मानी लोगों के लिये आदर्श होगा और इस प्रकार हमारी समस्या स्वयं हल हो जायेगी। भूमि वितरण और भूमि समस्या के हल के सम्बन्ध में मैं कुछ सुझाव आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ और आशा है कि सरकार इन पर विचार करेगी। कहा जाता है कि यदि हम १० प्रति शत अनाज और पैदा कर सकें तो हमारी कमी पूरी हो जायेगी। अनाजों से हमारा मतलब गेहूँ, चावल, मकई और बाजरा से ही होता है। सब से अधिक कमी चावल की बतलाई जाती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर चावल की सारी मिलों को बन्द कर दिया जाय तो चावल की पौष्टिकता बढ़ जाने के अतिरिक्त हमें मन पीछे तीन सेर चावल बच सकता

है। साथ ही साथ अगर गेहूँ के आटे का चोकर न निकाला जाय और उसको चोकर सहित ही खाया जाय तो एक मन में ढाई तीन सेर की बचत हो सकती है। इसके अतिरिक्त जौ, मटर आदि के सत्तू काम में लाकर हम अपनी अन्न की कमी को पूरा कर सकते हैं। सरकार की ओर से जो ज्यादा गुल्ला उपजाने के प्रयोग किये जाते हैं उनमें लगन की कमी रहती है। इसलिये सबसे पहले हमें भूमि की समस्या को हल करना चाहिये। इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार की अनिश्चित नीति के कारण किसानों में उत्साह नहीं पैदा होता। इसलिये सरकार को ज़मीन की समस्या की ओर अधिक ध्यान देना चाहिये। इस सम्बन्ध में भी अपना एक सुझाव आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। वह सुझाव यह है कि जो किसान उत्साह से ज़मीन को आबाद करते हैं उन को न छोड़ा जाय और जो दिल से खेती नहीं करते, अच्छी तरह से खेती नहीं करते उन को सरकार ज़मीन का मुआवजा दे कर ज़मीन ले ले और ऐसा नियम बना दिया जाय कि कोई किसान ५० एकड़ से ज्यादा ज़मीन न रख सके। मुआवजा देकर प्राप्त की हुई ज़मीन और बंजर से सुधार कर प्राप्त हुई ज़मीन को किसी व्यक्ति विशेष को न दिया जाय बल्कि ऐसे लोगों को दिया जाय जो सहयोग के आधार पर खेती करना चाहते हों। इस तरह से खेती करने वालों से ज़मीन का दस प्रति शत ले कर उनको वह ज़मीन दे दी जाय और शेष ९० प्रति शत लम्बी किशतों में लिया जाय। मैं चाहता हूँ कि मुफ्तखोरी की भावना जनता में न आने पावे। अगर जनता में मुफ्तखोरी की भावना आ गयी तो सरकार देश की पैदावार की समस्या को हल नहीं कर सकेगी।

[SHRI PATASKAR in the Chair]

मैं आप के सामने डेनमार्क (Denmark) का उदाहरण पेश करना चाहता हूँ। वहाँ पढ़े लिखे बेकारों की समस्या को इस तरह से हल किया गया कि उनको बंजर से सुधार की हुई भूमि दी गयी और उस का १० प्रति शत मूल्य ले लिया गया और बाकी ९० प्रति शत बहुत दिनों की किशतों में लिया गया। इससे उनकी बेकारी भी दूर हो गयी और देश की पैदावार भी बढ़ गयी। अगर हम ऐसे भूमिहीन लोगों को जमीन दे देंगे जिनको कि खेती में दिलचस्पी नहीं है तो इससे देश की पैदावार नहीं बढ़ सकेगी। मेरा यह ख्याल है कि सभी भूमिहीनों को जमीन दे देने से अनइकानामिक होल्डिंग्स (Uneconomic holdings) हो जायेगी और उस से देश की पैदावार नहीं बढ़ सकेगी। इसलिये जिनको खेती में दिलचस्पी हो उन्हीं को जमीन देनी चाहिये। इसी तरह हमारे देश की पैदावार बढ़ सकेगी। प्रत्येक भूमिहीन परिवार को ५० एकड़ जमीन निवास के लिये देनी चाहिये। कोई भी होल्डिंग ५ एकड़ से कम का न हो। अनाज पर से कंट्रोल हटा दिया जाय जिससे कि किसानों को अपने उत्पादन का पूरा मूल्य मिल सके। कोई आदमी अधिक गूला एकत्र न कर सके। गूले के एक प्रान्त से दूसरे प्रान्त में जाने पर कोई प्रतिबंध न रहे। किसान गूला दे कर अपनी आवश्यकता की चीजें बार्टर (Barter) के रूप में प्राप्त करें। सरकार समय समय पर उचित मूल्य पर गूला खरीद कर अपनी दुकानों में रखे जिससे कि गूले के भाव अधिक न बढ़ने पावें। इस चीज का हम को तजुरबा है। जब बिहार में भूकम्प हुआ था तो डाक्टर राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जी ने इस नीति को अस्तित्वार किया था और बाजारों को अपने अधिकार में रखा था। लेकिन जब से

सरकार उनके हाथ में आयी है तब से वह बाजार कंट्रोल करने में असमर्थ हैं। हमारा ख्याल है कि अनाज पर से कंट्रोल हटा कर हम लोगों में साधारण जीवन की भावना पैदा कर सकेंगे और इसके जरिये से हम अनाज का कंट्रोल कर सकेंगे। इस प्रकार से हमको विदेशों से अनाज खाने के लिये नहीं मंगाना पड़ेगा। विदेशों का अनाज हमारे खाने के लायक नहीं होता। आज के "नव भारत" में निकला है कि जो गूला अमरीका से आया है वह सड़ा हुआ है और उसके प्रत्येक बुशल (Bushel) के लिये सरकार को डेढ़ रुपया अधिक देना पड़ा है। अमरीका में ऐसा कानून है कि गूला बाहर न भेजा जाय इसलिये जो गूला कनाडा (Canada) से आया था उसमें से २० लाख टन हिन्दुस्तान में और कुछ हिस्सा जर्मनी (Germany) में गया और प्रत्येक बुशल के लिये आपको डेढ़ रुपया अधिक देना पड़ा। हमारी सरकार ने हम को बतलाया था कि सन् १९५१ तक हम सेल्फ सफ़ीशेंट (self-sufficient) हो जायेंगे। लेकिन जब सन् १९५१ बीत गया तो हम से कहा गया कि हम सन् १९५२ तक गूले के मामले में सेल्फ सफ़ीशेंट हो जायेंगे। लेकिन जब सन् १९५२ भी बीत गया तो हमसे कहा गया कि पंच वर्षीय योजना के बाद हम सेल्फ सफ़ीशेंट हो जायेंगे। हमारा कहना है कि इस के लिये हमको दृढ़ होना चाहिये। जब तक हम दृढ़ नहीं होंगे तो हो सकता है कि पंच वर्षीय योजना के बाद भी कोई समय बताया जाय जब कि हम सेल्फ सफ़ीशेंट हो जायेंगे। हम कहते हैं कि दूसरे देशों से गूला मंगाना हमारे शासन के लिये अपमान की बात है और शासन के साथ साथ जनता के लिये भी अपमान की बात है कि आज हम अपने देश में इतना गूला पैदा नहीं कर सकते जो कि हम खा सकें। आज जी

[श्री बी० पी० सिन्हा]

गल्ले की कमी बतलाई जाती है वह बहुत ज्यादा कमी नहीं है। उसकी पूर्ति हम कर सकते हैं। हमारा ख्याल है कि अगर हम संतुलित भोजन का चार्ट बनाकर उसके अनुसार भोजन करें तो हम इस कमी को पूरा कर सकते हैं। वह चार्ट में आपके सामने रखता हूँ। अनाज १२ आउंस (Ounces) दालें ६ आउंस, सब्जी ६ आउंस, फल ३ आउंस, दूध या मट्ठा १० आउंस। मट्ठा मैंने इसलिये रखा है कि आज हमारा देश गरीब होने के कारण दूध इतना नहीं मिल सकता। लेकिन मट्ठे के जरिये से हम दूध जैसी ही पोष्टिकता प्राप्त कर सकते हैं। आज बहुत से विशेषज्ञों का यह ख्याल है कि मट्ठे में जो गुण हैं वह दूध में नहीं हैं। आज गरीबी हमारे लिये स्वाभिमान की चीज़ होनी चाहिये। हमारे अन्दर यह भावना होनी चाहिये कि हम अपनी गरीबी में भी स्वाभिमान अनुभव करें और जो हमारे भोजन में पोष्टिकता की कमी है उसको संतुलित भोजन द्वारा इस तरीके से प्राप्त करें जो कि अमीरों को भी नसीब नहीं हो सकती है। लेकिन आज इसके लिये नेतृत्व नहीं है। उसके लिये मार्ग प्रदर्शन चाहिये। आज हमारा मार्ग प्रदर्शन करने वाला कोई आदमी नहीं है। इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे जर्मनी का एक उदाहरण याद आता है। हमारे एल० एस० जी० के मिनिस्टर झा साहब जर्मनी गये थे। उनके पास पांच पाउंड मक्खन था। वह उसको दूसरों को बांटना चाहते थे। लेकिन हर एक आदमी ने जिसको उन्होंने मक्खन देना चाहा उसको लेने से इन्कार किया। एक किसान ने, एक संस्कृत के विद्यार्थी ने उसको लेने से इन्कार करते हुए यह कहा कि हम ने निश्चय किया है कि हम अपनी गरीबी को बांट लायेंगे। इसलिये हम मक्खन

का प्रयोग नहीं कर सकते हैं। आज देश के अन्दर हम एक ऐसा आदर्श उपस्थित कर सकते हैं कि हमारे सामने जो चीज़ है उसी का उपयोग करेंगे। जो गल्ला हमारे देश में है उसी से काम चलावेंगे। जो आज हम विशेष रूप से भोजन करते हैं जो कि आज हिन्दुस्तान की साधारण जनता को नहीं मिल सकता है, उस को कम करेंगे। उस के अन्दर एक भावना पैदा कर सकते हैं कि जैसा विदेशों से हम गल्ला मंगाते हैं तो खुद वह कहते हैं कि घोड़ों के लिये जो सड़ा हुआ अनाज था वह हम बाहर भेज रहे हैं। अमेरिका में जो मिलट (Millet) सूअर के खाने के लिये काम में आती थी वह हिन्दुस्तान भेजी जा रही है। तो आज इस देश के लिये यह अपमान की बात है कि विदेशों से गल्ला आये। आज भी जो गल्ले की कमी है वह दर असल गल्ले की कमी नहीं है। वह आंकड़ों के फ़ोर में कमी बताई जाती है। फिर उस के अनुसार भी जब दस प्रति शत की ही कमी है तो जैसा हमने बताया कि लाल चावल की लाली और चोकर न निकाल कर और साग आदि से पूर्ति कर के हम उस कमी को पूर्ण कर सकते हैं। हमारे अन्दर एक आत्माभिमान होना चाहिये। पूज्य बापू जी ने जब विदेशों से वस्त्र मंगाने का वहिष्कार किया था तो उस वस्त्र को न मंगाने के लिये पूज्य बापू जी ने अपने सारे वस्त्र फेंक दिये थे और कहा था कि चाहे सरदी में हम ठिठुर ही जायें, लेकिन हम बाहर का वस्त्र नहीं मंगावेंगे। उस भावना को हमें कबूल करना चाहिये और आज यह निश्चय करना चाहिये कि जो गल्ला हमारे यहां है उसी से काम चलावेंगे, बाहर विदेशों से कोई गल्ला नहीं मंगावेंगे। इस तरह से हमारे शासन को, हमारे नेताओं को, बड़े निश्चय कर लेना

चाहिये कि चाहे कुछ भी हो, हम विदेश से गूला नहीं मंगावेंगे। चाहे कोई भी चीज खानी पड़े, हम बाहर के ऊपर निर्भर नहीं रहेंगे। आज हमारे देश में कई वस्तुएं हैं जिन में पीष्टिकता की कमी नहीं है। आप के अनुसन्धान करने वालों को इस बारे में जांच करनी चाहिये कि कौन सी चीज पीष्टिक होते हुए भी हमारे यहां सर्व-साधारण को उपलब्ध हो सकती है। हम एक अरब ५४ करोड़ और कुछ लाख रुपयों का गूला विदेशों से मंगाना चाहते हैं। इस गूले की कमी की यहां पर ही पूर्ति करके हम उस रुपये से बहुत कुछ दूसरे कार्य कर सकते हैं और इंडस्ट्रियल डेवलपमेंट (Industrial development) के काम में उस रुपये को ला सकते हैं।

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं आप को बताऊं कि मैं बिहार का रहने वाला हूं पर एक समय मुझे मौका मिला था और मैंने सीराष्ट्र और पश्चिमी हिन्दुस्तान का दौरा किया था। वहां मैंने यह देखा कि बहुत सी जमीन ऐसी थी कि जहां पर पानी की सिंचाई के जरिये से जहां उन्होंने काम लिया वहां पर बम्पर क्राप (bumper crop) थी। तो उसी तरह से आज भी हमारे पीछे एक बड़ा निश्चय होना चाहिये कि विदेश से गूला नहीं मंगावेंगे। आज हम को-ऑपरेटिव फार्मिंग (co-operative farming) की बात करते हैं। को-ऑपरेटिव फार्मिंग के सम्बन्ध में आप को एक आदर्श रखना चाहिये। पालियामेंट के जो मैम्बर हैं वह और हम आज पांच घंटे रोज काम करते हैं और आज हिन्दुस्तान के मजदूरों के काम करने का समय ८ घंटे बतलाते हैं। हम कहते हैं कि जब पालियामेंट में ५ ही घंटे या तीन या ४ ही घंटे का काम होता है तो तीन या चार घंटे का समय शारीरिक श्रम करके और और कई कार्य कर के उस में लगा कर औरों को रास्ता दिखा

सकते हैं। ऐसा हमें करना चाहिये। इस तरह कार्य करने से हम समझते हैं कि देश की बड़ी बड़ी समस्याएं हम हल कर सकेंगे।

हमारे जीवन के जो आवश्यक अंग हैं वे हैं, शान्ति, रक्षा, वस्त्र, शिक्षा और स्वास्थ्य। वस्त्र के सम्बन्ध में आज हमारी सरकार मिल के बने कपड़े पर एक पैसा गज बढ़ा कर उस पैसे को हैंडलूम (handloom) के कामों में खर्च करना चाहती है। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि हैंडलूम तो बहुत अच्छी हालत में है। वह सारा का सारा पैसा यदि खादी के प्रयोग के काम में खर्च किया जाय और हैंडलूम के काम में न किया जाय तो ठीक है। यदि वह हैंडलूम के काम में खर्च किया गया तो हम समझते हैं कि सरकार का यह काम दूध में खटाई डाल देने के समान होगा।

शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में भी हमने देखा कि केवल दो करोड़ रुपये बेसिक एजुकेशन (Basic education) के लिये रखे गये हैं। दो करोड़ रुपया बहुत ही कम है और वह नगण्य समान है। लेकिन फ़ायनेंस कमिशन (Finance Commission) के सुझाव के मुताबिक कुछ सहायता प्रादेशिक सरकारों को हमारी सरकार देने जा रही है। उस सहायता में काफ़ी रकम को यदि आप ईयरमार्क (earmark) कर दें कि वह प्राइमरी शिक्षा में ही खर्च हो तो इस से बहुत काम हो सकता है। आज हम देखते हैं कि पंच वर्षीय योजना में निरक्षरता निवारण का कोई मामला नहीं रखा गया है। चौदह वर्ष के स्कूल जाने के लायक जो लड़के हैं उन के लिये स्कूल में कोई जगह नहीं है। तो इस हालत को सुधारने के लिये हम आज बेसिक एजुकेशन के जरिये से ही यह

[श्री बी० पी० सिन्हा]

परिस्थिति ला सकते हैं कि सब को स्थान मिल जाय। बेसिक एजुकेशन के लिये जो प्रादेशिक सरकारें इसको चलाती हैं तो इस में हेडि-क्राफ्ट्स का काफ़ी समावेश होना चाहिये

आज हम देखते हैं कि आप की स्वास्थ्य की जो योजना है उस में आपने केवल प्रिवेंटिव (preventive) रखा है, क्यूरेटिव (curative) नहीं रखा है। क्यूरेटिव नहीं रखने से आज हम जाते हैं तो आप के लोग कहते हैं कि हम बीमारी रोकने का प्रयत्न करते हैं, लेकिन बीमारी फँल जाती है तो आप के लोग जाते हैं और कहा जाता है कि हमारे हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर क्यूरेटिव चीज़ नहीं है। इसलिये हमारा हाल है कि स्वास्थ्य योजना में जिस तरह से प्रिवेंटिव का समावेश है उसी तरह से क्यूरेटिव का भी समावेश हो। आज हमारे देश में लोगों का स्वास्थ्य गिरता जाता है। उसके जो कारण हैं, उन में रहने का खराब स्थान, नाइट साएल (night-soil) का कुप्रबन्ध और खाने पीने की कमी है। इन सब चीज़ों को आप दूर कर सकते हैं और इस के जरिये से देश में एक नवीन व्यवस्था ला सकते हैं। तो इस ओर हम आप का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहते हैं।

साथ ही साथ हम आप से अर्ज करना चाहते हैं कि पार्लियामेंट के सदस्यों को और हिन्दुस्तान के हर एक नागरिक को वाक् स्वातंत्र्य होना चाहिये। अपने भाषण पर किसी के ऊपर अत्याचार न हो, इसकी सरकार को व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये और पार्लियामेंट के मंत्रियों के लिये खासकर प्रधान मंत्री को इस ओर विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये ताकि लोगों के विचार जाने जा सकें

इन शब्दों के साथ इस बजट का समर्थन करते हुए हम यह कहेंगे कि आप की जो पंच वर्षीय योजना है उस पंच वर्षीय योजना में क्या करना है, उसका एक खरीता सरकार को देना चाहिये। नहीं तो जब हम कांस्टीट्यूएन्सी (constituency) में जाते हैं तो पंच वर्षीय योजना के बारे में बातें करते हैं तो वह उसी तरह की बातें होती हैं जैसे हम कहते हैं कि रचनात्मक कार्य करो, रचनात्मक कार्य करो। इसलिये सरकार का और प्लानिंग कमीशन के जो इंचार्ज हैं, उन का यह फ़र्ज होना चाहिये कि पार्लियामेंट के हर एक सदस्य को और उन की कांस्टीट्यूएन्सी में वह सब सूची भेजनी चाहिये जो यह बताए कि पंच वर्षीय योजना से हिन्दुस्तान में क्या हो सकता है। साथ ही आप के जो बड़े बड़े प्रयोग हैं उन को छोड़ कर छोटे छोटे प्रयोगों को हाथ में लें जिस से कि अन्न की समस्या हल हो जाय और देश में शान्ति की स्थापना आप कर सकें।

पंडित श्री० एन० मालवीय (रायसेन): श्रीमान् चैयरमैन साहब, मैं आप को इसलिये धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आप ने मुझे इस पार्लियामेंट के शुरू होने से इस वक्त पहली मर्तबा यह मौका दिया है कि मैं अपने अर्थ मंत्री साहब को मुबारकबाद पेश करूँ। हमारे बजट के सिलसिले में जो एतराज्जात किये गये हैं उन में एक क्रिस्म का एतराज्जात तो वह है जो विचार धारा से सम्बन्ध रखता है और वह यकीनन हर तरीके से यही कहना चाहते हैं कि चूँकि यह साम्यवादी या समाजवादी व्यवस्था का बजट नहीं है इसलिये इसका विरोध होना चाहिये। लेकिन हमारा बजट, जो हमारी पंच वर्षीय योजना है उससे मिल कर बना है, उसी के आधार पर बना है, इसलिये वह मिक्सड इकानामी (mixed economy) के आभाष

पर है। मेरी समझ में हमारा बजट जो हमारे देश की स्थिति है उस को सामने रख कर बनाया गया है। हम समाजवाद को अडाप्ट (adopt) करना चाहते हैं, हम एक वर्गहीन समाज की बुनियाद बना कर आगे चलना चाहते हैं। ऐसी सूरत में हमारे देश की परिस्थिति को सामने रख कर जो बजट बनाया गया है उस में यह ऐतराज नहीं किया जा सकता कि यह पीपुल्स (peoples) का बजट नहीं है। न कोई यह कह सकता है कि आज जनता में जोश नहीं है। जनता में जोश है और वह पंच वर्षीय योजना को कामयाब बनाने के लिये तैयार भी है। लेकिन मैं निहायत अदब से एक ऐतराज यह करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार खुद ही अपनी जनता के जोश को अभी सही तौर पर नाप नहीं पाई है और शायद वह प्रतिक्रियावादी शक्तियों के असर में या उन की मुरबत में उन शक्तियों के जोश को और संगठन को इतना समझ बैठी है कि अगर वह जनता में जाय और तेजी से आगे बढ़े तो मुमकिन है कि यह लोग ऐसे मौके पर आकर हम को पकड़ें कि हमारी सरकार अस्तव्यस्त हो जाय। तो इस कारण उन के प्रति थोड़ी सी मरबत और मेल रखन का सवाल है। इसलिये मैं जो तजवीज रखता हूँ पहले मैं निहायत अदब से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब मैं प्रीवी पर्स का जिक्र करता हूँ तो मेरा मतलब हरगिज यह नहीं है कि मैं अपने उन राजों महाराजों का अपमान करना चाहता हूँ कि जिन्होंने यकीनन हमारी बहुत नाजुक वक्त में मदद की है, उन्होंने ६०० रियासतों को इकट्ठा करने में हमारी मदद की है। मेरी तजवीज यह है कि क्या वजह है कि प्रीवी पर्स का जो ४ करोड़ ७६ लाख रुपया सालाना हम देते हैं यह वे अपनी जेबों में रखें। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि जिस तरीके से उन्होंने पहले काम किया है उसी तरह से

हमारे राजा महाराज साहबान और गवर्नमेंट दोनों मिलकर यह तरीका निकालें कि प्रीवी पर्स की जो रकम है उसका देश हित में उपयोग हो, क्योंकि वही तो कोई उनकी आमदनी नहीं है, उनकी और भी दूसरी आमदनी है, उनकी जाती जायदाद है, कारबार है, उस सब का लिहाज रखा जाय। उनका जो जाती खर्चा है, उनका जो दूसरा खर्चा है, उनके रहन सहन का जो ढंग है, और जो जनता का ढंग है, जो जनता की भूख की स्थिति है उसको देख कर वह कुरबानी करें।

और मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि जैसे हमारी यह हृदय परिवर्तन की फ़िलासफ़ी चल रही है, उसका वह जरूर ध्यान रखेंगे और उन क्रान्तिकारी शक्तियों को ज़रा सामने रखेंगे और आज के बदलते युग और समय को देखकर वह खुद इस बड़ी रकम को बचायेंगे और वह खुद इसको समझ सकेंगे कि इस रकम को स्वयं अपने खर्च में लाना जो अनप्रोड्यक्टिव (unproductive) हो और जिसका देश में कोई उपयोग नहीं हो सकता, कहां तक उचित है, आज हमारे देश में बड़ी बड़ी इंडस्ट्रीज (industries) चल रही हैं और चलाने की योजना है, उनमें रुपये के इन्वेस्टमेंट की जरूरत है, क्यों नहीं इस रुपये को उस ओर लगा दिया जाय और इस सम्बन्ध में मेरी पहली तजवीज यह है कि यह प्रीवी पर्स कम्पेन्सेशन (compensation) देने का जो विधान में क्लॉज (clause) है, वह जैसा कि हमारे पंडित जी ने पंच वर्षीय योजना के सम्बन्ध में बोलते हुए कहा था कि हम इस योजना को हर क़ीमत पर कामयाब बनायेंगे और अगर जरूरत होगी, तो हम इस विधान को भी बदलेंगे और मैं चाहूंगा कि विधान में जो जो यह प्रीवी पर्स और कम्पेन्सेशन

[पंडित सी० एन० मालवीय]

देने का क्लेश है, उसे तरमीम कर दें और इस तरह जो यह चार करोड़ छहत्तर लाख रुपया है उसको इंडस्ट्रीज में लगायें, अलबत्ता उस रकम का जो सूद हो वह हम उनको दे दें, आज सारे देश में जो हमें कम्पेनसेशन देना पड़ रहा है, वह तकरीबन पांच अरब रुपये के आता है, मुमकिन है इससे कुछ ज्यादा हो या कम, लेकिन निस्सन्देह यह पांच अरब रुपये की एक बहुत बड़ी रकम है, दूसरे हम बाहर के देशों से भी ६ अरब रुपये का कर्ज लेने वाले हैं, इसलिये यह और भी जरूरी हो जाता है कि हम इस पांच अरब रुपये की रकम को बचायें और इस को आमदनी की मद में जोड़ सकते हैं।

इसके बाद म गवर्नमेंट का ध्यान इस तरफ भी दिलाऊंगा कि हमारे उन पूंजीपति भाइयों और राजा साहबान का जिनका रुपया अमरीका, इंग्लैंड आदि देशों के बैंकों में जमा है, तो क्यों नहीं वह रुपया उनका यहां हिन्दुस्तान के बैंकों में जमा हो ताकि हम उस रुपये का इस्तेमाल अपने देश की उन्नति में कर सकें। इसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि आज जो पार्ट सी० स्टेट्स (Part 'C' States) में इतना ज्यादा खर्चा है, उनको बड़ी स्टेट्स में मर्ज (merge) कर दिया जाय लेकिन मिलाते वक्त और प्लान बनाते वक्त वह इस बात का ध्यान रखें कि इन छोटी छोटी रियासतों और इलाकों का भी ध्यान रखें, और उन को नेग्लेक्ट (neglect) न कर दिया जाय, जैसे जो बड़ी बड़ी राजस्थान और मध्यभारत की यूनियनें बनी हैं, उनमें जो छोटी छोटी रियासतें हैं जैसे मध्यप्रदेश में छत्तीसगढ़ का इलाका है, उसकी तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिये, यह मैं इसलिये कह रहा हूँ ताकि जो मिनिस्टर्स बहां बनें वह सिर्फ एक संकुचित दृष्टिकोण अपना कर अपने ही

खिले अथवा रियासत का ध्यान न रखें और समय की पुकार है कि अब हमें इस संकुचित वृत्ति को छोड़ देना चाहिये और अगर हम ऐसा कर सकें तो हम अपने उद्देश्य में अवश्य सफल सिद्ध होंगे और इसके बाद मैं इस चीज का भी समर्थन करता हूँ कि यहाँ जिस तरह से हमारा लोकतंत्र चल रहा है, उस में हमारी गवर्नमेंट को यह जरूर विचार करना चाहिये कि वास्तव में क्या काँसिल आफ स्टेट की जरूरत है? इसके साथ ही साथ हमारे जो बड़े बड़े सरकारी अफसरान हैं उन की इज्जत करते हुए भी मैं यह चाहूंगा कि क्यों नहीं हम आज जो बहुत से बड़े अफसरान हैं उनको कम करें और उनकी योग्यता का दूसरे स्थानों में उपयोग करें इसलिये कि क्लर्कस ही ज्यादा काम करते हैं। बड़ी योग्यता के अफसरों को हम दूसरी तरफ लगाकर फायदा उठा सकते हैं, देश के लिये जो दूसरी तरह के एक्सपर्ट्स (experts) आदमियों की जरूरत है, उस की तरफ उन्हें लगाना चाहिये। मेरी राय में ज़रा इस बात पर भी गौर करना चाहिये कि क्या हम कुछ मिनिस्ट्रीज को मिलाकर काम कर सकते हैं।

जहां तक नमक कर का सम्बन्ध है, मैं आप को बतलाऊं कि इस में हमारी राष्ट्रीय भावना निहित है। हमारे बहुत से भाइयों ने और हम ने पिछले समय में नमक कर आन्दोलन भी किये हैं और आन्दोलन चला कर बन्द किया था, लेकिन हमको फिर इस पर सोचना चाहिये कि हम क्या इस नमक कर को फिर से लगा कर अपनी आमदनी बढ़ा सकते हैं, क्योंकि पिछले सेशन में जब बजट पर बहस हुई थी तो दो चीजों पर ज्यादातर जोर दिया गया था एक तो डिफिसिट फ़ाइनेंसिंग (deficit financing)

पर और दूसरे साल्ट ड्यूटी पर। इस साल जो बजट पेश है, उसमें डिफिसिट बजट का प्राविजन तो है लेकिन यह जो साल्ट टैक्स का बात है यह ज़रा फिर से गौर करने की बात है और मेरी प्रार्थना है कि उस पर मुनासिब तरीके से सोचना चाहिये।

इसके साथ ही साथ हमारा जो राजा महाराजाओं के साथ समझौता हुआ है उसके अनुसार उनकी बहुत सी प्रापरटीज़ अभी टैक्स की हद में नहीं आतीं। आज जब कि हमारे राजा महाराजा लोग समान नागरिकता के अधिकारी हैं और उनको वह पूर्ण अधिकार प्राप्त हैं और उनको चुनाव में खड़े होने और पार्लियामेंट और असेम्बलियों में जाने का अवसर प्राप्त है, तो क्या वजह है कि उनके साथ कोई विशेष व्यवहार किया जाय और मैं समझता हूँ कि वह खुद भी इसको पसन्द नहीं करेंगे और छोड़ने को तैयार हो जायेंगे और इसलिये यह उचित हो जाता है कि शासकों की प्रापरटीज़ और उनकी आमदनी पर भी टैक्स लगना चाहिये।

अभी कल या परसों की ही तो बात है कि जब यहां पर हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने स्टालिन के सम्बन्ध में तक्रार की थी उसमें इस चीज़ को साफ़ किया था कि हमारी पालिसी शान्ति की पालिसी है और जब शान्ति हमारी पालिसी है तो हम इस चीज़ को भी मानते हैं कि दुनिया में शान्ति कायम रखने के लिये बड़ी बड़ी जो ताकतें हैं जैसे यूनाइटेड नेशन्स आदि, उनके जरिये दुनिया में शान्ति कायम रखी जा सकती है, और आज दुनिया हिन्दुस्तान की तरफ़ देख रही है कि वह उसको शान्ति का पैगाम दे और आज वक्त है कि हम उन बड़ी ताकतों को इन्दौर के कांग्रेस प्रस्ताव के अनुसार हिन्दुस्तान में दावत दें और शान्ति कायम रखने के लिये शान्ति पॅक्ट (pact) कगने की कोशिश

करें ताकि दुनिया में शान्ति कायम रखी जाय, और इसके लिये बजट में हमको ज़रूर गुआइश करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये।

इसके बाद चूंकि वक्त कम है, इसलिये कुछ बातें ऐसी हैं जिनको मैं अपनी रियासत से मुताल्लिक और खास तौर से जो पार्ट सी० स्टेट्स है उनके मुताल्लिक समझता हूँ और उनकी ओर आप का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। जितनी भी पार्ट 'सी' स्टेट्स हैं, उन में कई असेम्बलीज़ (assemblies) हैं, लेकिन अभी हाल में अजमेर में चीफ़ मिनिस्टर्स की जो बैठक हुई थी उसमें उन्होंने इस चीज़ का जिक्र किया है कि जब तक आप उनको कायम रखते हैं, उस वक्त तक तो उनको यह अधिकार अवश्य दिया जाय कि आप जब एक मर्तबा उनके लिये बजट पास कर दें, तो फिर उनको उसके खर्च करने में ज्यादा दिक्कत अथवा कठिनाई न हो, और होता यह है कि उनको बारबार हर बात के लिये सेंटर के पास आने जाने में दिक्कत उठानी पड़ती है और खर्चा भी ज्यादा होता है, ऐसा प्रबन्ध होना चाहिये कि उन की हर बात के लिये यहां आपके पास आने की दिक्कत न उठानी पड़े, क्योंकि एक तो खर्चा ज्यादा होता है और दूसरे जिम्मेदारी और रिसोर्सिज़ ठीक न होने की वजह से काम में दिक्कत होती है।

इंडस्ट्रीज़ की जो हमारी पालिसी है, उस में एक तरफ़ तो हम चाहते हैं कि इंडस्ट्रीज़ हमारी बड़ें, लेकिन हमारे भूपाल में शुगर फ़ैक्टरी (sugar factory) मैच फ़ैक्टरी (match factory), और ग्लास फ़ैक्टरी (glass factory) बन्द पड़ी हुई हैं, मैं चाहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट ज़रा ओर ध्यान दे, क्योंकि उन के बन्द रहने से मशीनरी और तमाम अन्य चीज़ें बेकार रही हैं।

[पंडित सी० एन० मालवीय]

सर्विसेज के बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ और वह पुरानी बात है और मैं बिल्कुल उस उसूल से इतिफाक करता हूँ कि राज्य कार्य में उत्तर, दक्षिण, भूपाल, ग्वालियर अथवा इंदौर का सवाल पैदा नहीं होना चाहिये, लेकिन इसके साथ साथ मैं यह जरूर चाहूंगा कि जोकि उस राज्य विशेष के रहने वाले हों, और वह पढ़े लिखे और नौजवान हों और वह उनकी यह इच्छा कि उन्हें उस राज्य की खिदमत करने का अवसर मिले, बिल्कुल स्वाभाविक है और हमें इसकी ओर ध्यान देना चाहिये, लेकिन अक्सर देखा जाता है कि पार्ट सी स्टेट्स के एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन (administration) में उनको नहीं लिया जाता और इसलिये वह उनकी सेवा से वंचित रह जाते हैं, तो इस तरह की गलत पालिसी को चलाने के लिये कौन जिम्मेदार है, मैं इस गलती के लिये गवर्नमेंट को जिम्मेदार करार नहीं देता, लेकिन उसकी जांच जरूर होनी चाहिये कि इसके लिये कौन जिम्मेदार है? पार्ट सी स्टेट्स में आज ऐसे लोगों को शासन कार्य में रखवा हुआ है जिनका उन स्टेट्स से कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है और मैं चाहता हूँ कि उस कार्य के लिये योग्य व्यक्ति अगर उस स्टेट में मिल सकते हों, तो उन्हें वह कार्य सौंपा जाना चाहिये। यह सिर्फ़ भूपाल की ही शिकायत नहीं है, बल्कि यह करीब करीब हर एक पार्ट 'सी' स्टेट की शिकायत है और हमें इस पर गौर करना चाहिये। पेंशन और डी० ए० अलाउन्स (pension and dearness allowance) के क़ानून वहां बनाये, नये उसूल कायम किये, यह सब ठीक है, लेकिन इसके साथ साथ जो वहां के रहने वाले हैं जो पुराने मुलाज़मीन हैं और पहले के मुलाज़मीन हैं उनके प्रति ऐसी उपेक्षित नीति बरती गयी और यह मैं

केवल भूपाल के लिये ही नहीं कह रहा हूँ बल्कि दूसरी पार्ट 'सी' स्टेट्स के लिये भी कह रहा हूँ कि जो पहले के मुलाज़िम थे उनके साथ, इस किस्म की पालिसी बरती गयी कि नये उसूल तो वहां लागू किये गये लेकिन उनमें नये आदमियों को रख दिया गया और वहां के पुराने आदमियों को किसी न किसी बहाने से निकाल दिया या उन्हें महरूम कर दिया, इसलिये इस चीज़ की भी जांच होनी चाहिये और जो इस तरीके से उन जगहों से महरूम रखे गये हैं, उनको फ़ायदा पहुंचाना चाहिये और उनको उनका उचित हक़ दिया जाना चाहिये।

इस के साथ आप और हम पांच वर्ष की योजना को कामयाब बनाना चाहते हैं। लेकिन इस की कामयाब बनाने के सिलसिले में जो बहुत से लीकेजेज (leakages) हैं उन लीकेजेज की ओर ध्यान देना बहुत आवश्यक है। भोपाल में सेन्ट्रल रेलवे तकरीबन दो लाख पचास हजार गैलन पानी खर्च करती है जिस के ने शनलाइज्ड इंडस्ट्री होने के कारण आठ आने पर गैलन के हिसाब से एक लाख पचीस हजार रुपया मिलना चाहिये। लेकिन वह नहीं दिया जाता। इसी तरह से कार्ड बोर्ड फ़ैक्टरी है जिस को एक लाख तीस हजार रुपया देना चाहिये लेकिन सिर्फ़ तीन हजार रुपया सालाना दे कर काम चलाया जाता है।

इस के अलावा, चेअरमैन साहब, मुझे दो एक बातों का और जिक्र करना है।

Mr. Chairman: I shall ask the hon. Member to finish his speech now. I shall allow him two minutes more.

पंडित सी० एन० मालवीय : थैंक यू वेरी मच (thank you very much) ! अब मैं करप्शन पर कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। करप्शन के सिलसिले में बहुत आवाज़ उठा

गई है और लगभग एक ही बात कही गई है कि जितने सरकारी मुलाजिम हैं वही करपटेड (corrupted) हैं। लेकिन मैं एक दूसरी बात भी कहना चाहता हूँ। करप्शन की जिम्मेदार कांग्रेस नहीं है। बल्कि इस करप्शन की जिम्मेदार वही बात है जैसे कि हम ने देखा था एक जमाने में जब हिन्दू मुसलिम झगड़े हुआ करते थे तब क्या होता था। जब हिन्दू हिन्दू झगड़ते थे तो कोई नहीं पूछता था, इसी तरह से जब मुसलमान मुसलमान लड़ते थे तब भी कोई नहीं पूछता था, लेकिन अगर एक भी हिन्दू और मुसलमान लड़ जाय तो हिन्दू मुसलिम दंगा हो जाता था। इसलिये मैं अपोजीशन के मेम्बरों से अपील करना चाहता हूँ खास तौर पर कि अगर कभी किसी सरकारी मुलाजिम के खिलाफ या व्यापारी के खिलाफ कोई एक्शन लिया जाय तो फिर आप को यह नहीं कहना चाहिये कि चूँकि फ़लां आदमी का हमारी पार्टी से ताल्लुक है इसलिये आप उस को खत्म करते हैं।

आज जबकि हमारे देश में शान्ति होनी चाहिये तब साम्प्रदायिक संस्थायें बढ़ रही हैं और हमारी कुछ दूसरी संस्थायें जानबूझ कर उन साम्प्रदायिक संस्थाओं की मदद करें तो दूसरी बात है बर्ना हम उन शक्तियों को बढ़ाना नहीं चाहते हैं। इसी तरह से जो लोग करप्ट हैं, बड़े बड़े पूँजीवादी, बड़े बड़े होर्डर्स (hoarders), जो चीजें जमा कर के रखते हैं वह हमारे सरकारी मुलाजिमों को करप्ट करते हैं, उन्हें मजबूर करते हैं और जो ईमानदार सर हैं उन का रहना नामुमकिन कर देते हैं और शिकायत कर करके उन का ट्रांसफ़र (transfer) करवा देते हैं और उनके चले जाने पर अपना काम या रोज़गार आजादी से करते हैं। और चूँकि वह बेघारे

सरकारी मुलाजिम अपना डिफ़ेन्स (defence) नहीं कर सकते इसलिये हम सारी जिम्मेदारी उन के ऊपर रख देते हैं। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि उन अफसरों के अन्दर इस किस्म के करप्ट लोग नहीं हैं, लेकिन हम और आप जा कर विचारिश करते हैं कि ऐसे आदमी का ट्रांसफ़र मत करो, हम कहते हैं कि उसके ट्रांसफ़र को रोक दो, जब हम और आप ही ऐसे काम करते हैं तो इस करप्शन की जिम्मेदारी हमारी और आप की है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस बारे में पार्टी का सवाल न उठाया जाय। हम सब को मिल कर करप्शन को हटाना चाहिये। इसी तरीके से हम अपने यहाँ फ़ैले करप्शन को हटा पायेंगे और हमारी उन्नति के बहुत से साधन खुल जायेंगे क्योंकि हमारी आमदनी और खर्च का बहुत सा हिस्सा करप्शन खा जाता है, इसलिये इस सम्बन्ध में सब को मिल कर कोशिश करनी चाहिये।

चेअरमैन साहब, मैं आप को बहुत बहुत धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आप ने मुझे वक्त दिया और अपनी बात अच्छी तरह से कहने का मौका दिया।

Shri M. D. Ramasami (Arruppukkottai): Barring a cursory reference in the Budget of the Finance Minister and also the President's address, to the existence of scarcity conditions in several parts of the country, there is no evidence to show that the actual famine or scarcity conditions that exist in several parts of the country have been taken notice of by the Government. It is a pity that this matter has been passed over, and has not received the serious consideration that it deserves. Knowing as we do that the States are financially very weak, the Central Government should have come forward to give some substantial help to them so as to enable them to meet the situation arising out of the existence of famine conditions. The southern districts of Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevely are the worst affected, so far as the existence of famine conditions is concerned. Crop conditions are very bad in my constituency of Arruppukkottai, viz. in Arruppukkottai and Mudukulathur

[Shri M. D. Ramasami]

taluks of Ramnad district and in parts of Tinnevely district particularly Koilpatti *taluk*. After a tour of these areas the Minister of Local Administration of Madras State described the situation as "a second Rayalaseema". When I went to my constituency, I toured about 350 to 400 villages, and made a detailed report to the Government of Madras, as also to the Collectors of Ramnad, and Tinnevely about the conditions obtaining in these places.

The crops have withered. Drinking water wells have dried up, and tanks have not received any supply of water at all during the year. Cattle and men are suffering for want of water. The agricultural population and the ryots are starving, and there are acute famine conditions in these parts. The local M.L.A.'s and also the leaders of the Congress Party toured these parts, and made reports to the Government, expressing their grave concern over the situation in these three *taluks*. But no action has so far been taken. If at least some urgent works are started in these parts, providing work to the peasants, something could be said to have been done by way of amelioration. I am afraid the gravity of the situation has not been fully realised, and unless provision is made by the provincial Government aided by the Centre to give relief to the ryots, the prestige of the Government would go down, and there is bound to arise dissatisfaction amongst the people of these areas against the Government. The Central Government would have done well to provide some substantial help to the State to combat the situation.

The condition of the handloom weavers in these parts is likewise very serious. They are at present dependent upon the gruel centres opened in their areas, in urban localities; but so far as rural areas are concerned, no such provision has been extended to them, in spite of their repeated and pathetic requests to the Government. I do not know why this anomaly should exist.

So far as the handloom industry is concerned, the provision of gruel centres is not going to solve the problem; a long term policy is needed in this connection. The apparent help to tide over the present situation of the handloom industry by the reservation of 40 per cent. of *dhoti* and *saree* manufacture for the handloom industry is only an eye-wash. The representative of the Mills, the other day, admitted that the reservation in fact helped the mill industry, to liquidate its long-

standing stocks overnight. But it has not at the same time helped the handloom weavers at all. In spite of all that, that hon. Member had his own fears to shed for the unjust action taken by the Government and pleaded for revocation of that policy. It is pitiable that he could not have spoken otherwise.

Shri B. S. Murthy (Eluru): It is not even a hand to mouth industry!

Shri M. D. Ramasami: The real solution would however come with the reservation of the entire realm of *dhoties* and *sarees* for the handloom industry. It was the realm of the handloom industry for thousands of years, but the encroachment of the mill industry has brought down the handloom industry to its present pitiable condition. *Dhoties* and coloured *sarees* over a width of 36 inches could be reserved for the handloom industry. Only then will a solution for the problems of the handloom industry be found. The reason why the handloom industry is not able to compete with the mill industry is this. The weaving mills have got their own spinning units and they take the yarn from the spinning units without allowing any margin of profit to the intermediaries which the handloom industry has to pay. Besides that the weaving mills have got their own dyeing units and units for sizing, warping and so on. Unlike the handloom weavers, the mill industry is not put to the necessity of allowing a margin of profit to all these units. The handloom weaver has to start with yarn for which he has paid 50 per cent. more price than what the mill industry has paid. The handloom weavers cannot weave even one-fourth of what the mills can weave within a given time. With all these handicaps, the handloom industry is obviously unable to compete with the mill weaving industry, and the weaving mills are thus in a position to destroy the handloom industry. Unless the Government appreciate the magnitude of this crisis and come to their rescue, ten million people of this country, depending on this handloom industry will be heading towards annihilation.

The proposal to levy a cess on mill cloth is another eye-wash. The attempt to levy a cess is more in the interests of *khadi* than in the interests of the handloom industry. *Khadi* is already receiving support and subsidy from the Government in spite of the fact that it is admitted on all hands that *khadi* is economically a failure.

The Minister of Revenue and Expenditure (Shri Tyagi) Because *Khadi* goes to more and more remote areas, and the spinners are poor women in villages.

Shri M. D. Ramasami: Sorry, the hon. Minister is mistaken, it is not so. It is only people supporting the Congress who do it.

I would like to draw the attention of the Government to an attempt by the U.P. Government to start co-operative societies to meet the demands of about a million people in that State, depending on handloom industry. Forming co-operative societies for handloom weavers, subsidising and financing the handloom industry, besides finding markets inside the country and outside for the handloom products, as is undertaken by the U.P. Government, coupled with the reservation that I have suggested, namely, reserving for the handloom industry *dhooties* and *sarees* over a width of 36 inches, will alone help the handloom industry and solve its problems.

Mr. Chairman: Mr. Rachiah.

Shri B. S. Murthy: Sir, the Praja Socialist Members have not been given even one chance.

Mr. Chairman: I am trying to call them and they will get their chance in their due turn.

Shri N. Rachiah (Mysore—Reservé—Sch. Castes): Sir, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to participate in the discussion on the Budget. This is the first time that I speak in this House and so I am very grateful to you.

I rise to congratulate the Finance Minister because he has presented the best possible Budget under the circumstances, in our poor country. This Budget has been received in different parts of the country with appreciation. This Budget has not provided for any further burdens of taxation on the poor common man of India. Another important observation that I have to make is this. In our country, our Budget depends to a large extent upon agriculture which is the most important industry. This industry is not at all developed in our country because there is no scientific method in our cultivation. Our Budget, so to say, depends on the uncertainty of rain because our agriculture itself depends on the uncertainty of rain.

In our country agriculture is a very important industry and the land problem is the most important problem. Mostly we find absentee landlordism here. This should go in the best

interests of the country and the tiller of the soil should get the land. Then, I would like to state that India is not America—with regard to prohibition, Mr. Raghuramaiah, an hon. Member of this House said during the discussions on the Estate Duty Bill that prohibition should be scrapped. I vehemently oppose such an opinion because 36 crores of our people are very poor and a major portion of the population is poor on account of this drinking habit. Today, liquor and other intoxicating drinks have really ruined the economic position of the common man in our country. I have to congratulate the Madras Government and the Bombay Government because in spite of so much loss of revenue, they have introduced prohibition and succeeded. I have also to thank the Mysore Government because they have introduced prohibition in a large part of the State. I must say that the people of those parts of the State where prohibition has been introduced are more prosperous and the poor man is finding his heaven there. I hope the Government will introduce prohibition in other parts of the country also, particularly in that State.

If Hinduism is to survive, the cow slaughter must be prohibited. I come from a State where there is already a ban on cow slaughter. A ban on cow slaughter will not only help to protect the cows and cattle generally, but it will help the consolidation of Hinduism and also of the country. Untouchability is there because of this cow slaughter, particularly in the rural areas. I most sincerely submit to this august House that the Harijans are even today denied their fundamental rights and also access to places of public resort, hotels, temples and other things. In the Mysore State, because of this ban on cow slaughter, though there was intense untouchability, people are now feeling happy and 50 per cent. of untouchability has disappeared. I am sure there will be complete removal of untouchability. Our Government is complacent by passing a provision in the Constitution, and they feel that untouchability has been removed. I do not think so. They must take steps to enforce the law. Particularly the Central Government should instruct the State Governments, and the police authorities to take immediate and vigilant action with regard to the observance of untouchability.

Generally our Home Minister and our Prime Minister always speak of efficiency and qualifications in the services. I am of the opinion that more than efficiency and qualifications,

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B.A., M.A., etc. there should be honesty and sincerity among the officers in giving effect to the laws. They must have a sympathetic attitude towards the poor men whom we represent in this Parliament.

5 P.M.

I am very sorry to note that the Central Government is not following one uniform principle or policy with regard to Harijan uplift, because I know there are some omissions in one State while there are some commissions in another State. So to bring about the consolidation and uplift of these Harijans who form about six crores of people—one-sixth of the population of the country—I request Government to take immediate steps and also to set up a separate Ministry to see that these Harijans are looked after well both in the Centre and States.

An Hon. Member: They will not.

Shri N. Rachiah: Another important thing is this. We have got political freedom. Our people, that is, poor people, have got political freedom, but they have not got social freedom. To achieve social freedom, I am of the opinion that the Hindu Code Bill should be passed without further delay, because it aims at the consolidation of Hinduism and also removes all defects in our economic and social structure. It is of the foremost importance that attention should be given to this and I hope that the hon. Members of this House will certainly pass that Bill without any hesitation or disagreement in the best interests of the country in which we live today.

I come now to Mysore State. Mysore State is known for its efficient and also good administration—in all walks of administration. You know that Mysore State though a Part B State, now enjoys the status of Part A State. Article 371 does not now apply to Mysore State.

Mysore State has undertaken so many projects, particularly with regard to irrigation development schemes. They have taken up now 35 major schemes pertaining to irrigation development. Of them, the very important projects are the Badra project, the Nugu project and the Tunga project. The Nugu project is in my constituency and about 75 to 80 per cent. of the work has been completed and very soon, that is within six months or one year, it will be completed. With regard to the other two projects, Badra and Tunga projects, the estimates are too high for the State. The Central

Government has not given proper attention with regard to these projects. The Badra and Tunga projects are meant to relieve the distress which is there in more than half of the State. The Mysore Government has recommended many schemes with regard to relief to be given to the distressed areas. The Ramamurthi Committee has already toured those parts of the State and it has also recommended, I learn, for grant of financial assistance. I hope with regard to these famine-stricken areas, the Central Government which has given some assistance—which is meagre—will give more and liberal consideration in giving financial assistance and in recording sanction to the other projects in the best interest of our State.

Another thing is that after the integration of Railways, Central excise and income-tax, the interests of the officers and officials of Mysore State have not properly been looked after. I very much regret to say that in the Railway Department many Harijan officials have been reverted without giving any reason or notice whatsoever. The officers are not really honest in their intention with regard to Harijans.

With regard to the IA and IP services, Mysore State officers are not given the same privileges and treated on a par with the other officers of other parts of India who are in the same IA and IP services. Now after the introduction of *viva voce* examination for IAS and IPS, our Harijan officers particularly in Mysore State, have not been given proper representation, though they are really honest, efficient and also very popular in the State. Unless Government gives direct representation to Harijan officers in recruitment, I am very pessimistic that the Harijans in the country may not get proper representation in the services, though there is good intention on the part of Government to uplift them. It is some officers and some Committees who are appointed by the State and Central Governments who do not give proper attention to this matter. Article 335 of the Constitution provides that the Central and State Governments should give special attention with regard to the representation of the Harijan officers in the administration. But I am sorry to note that such careful attention has not been given to this matter so far. I hope at least in future adequate consideration will be given to these and other grievances.

I come now to another very important matter. In Mysore State we produce 60 per cent. of the silk in the country. There are also the coffee, tea and sugar industries. Now the coffee, tea and silk industries are facing a crisis. It has been mentioned in the papers and I have also received representations from many people to the effect that these industries have not been given proper encouragement. There is a tendency on the part of the Government to nominate more and more officials instead of non-officials who have been working on the Coffee and Tea Boards. I hope that in these days of democracy proper representation will be given to the non-officials. I also hope that these industries will be given proper attention, encouragement and protection in the best interests of the country.

Coming to the leather industry, I must say that it is a very important industry. I have also seen in the Planning Commission's Report that this industry is facing a crisis and the State Governments should give proper attention to this. There must also be co-operative societies started with regard to this industry. I am sorry to bring to your notice that the State Governments while granting loans to other industries, are not giving loans or proper encouragement by way of financial help to the leather industry—so far as I understand, in Mysore State. So much other financial and other help is given to industries, but the industry with which the Harijans are concerned is not at all taken into consideration. I hope that sufficient consideration will be given at least hereafter.

Coming to other important things, Mysore State has advanced and it has made good progress with regard to Harijans. They have taken up a housing scheme and every year 20 lakhs of rupees are spent on house construction. With regard to education up to the University standard, Harijans are given free education in Mysore State, but this is not done in some other States.

An Hon. Member: Not in Madras.

Shri N. Rachiah: I hope there will be a uniform policy pursued with regard to education. In our democracy, compulsory education is very important and it must be introduced as far as possible to educate the masses because after the general elections, we have been seeing a tremendous awakening among the rural population. Education is very important for

a successful democracy in our country, because our democracy is in an infant state

Shri Nanadas (Ongole—Reserved—Sch. Castes): What about lands to Harijans

Shri N. Rachiah: With regard to lands, my hon. friend does not know that in Mysore State, more than in any other State, they are given more lands and more concessions. My friend is referring to the Congress Party. I want to say that it is only the Congress Party and Congress Government that can deliver the goods to the Harijans. I challenge the hon. Member: is there any Party or any Member who would dare to say that they have not done anything to the Harijans? It is only the Congress Party that has done so much to the Harijans. (*Interruptions*). I know there is no other Party in the country which has done anything to the Harijan community. But for the birth of Gandhiji in this country, we would not have got freedom and thought of the removal of untouchability. On account of Congress and Gandhiji, we have been doubly benefited because they have removed untouchability by a stroke and it is going to do more for the amelioration of Harijans in other respects also. I hope steps will be taken to root out untouchability completely as early as possible as it is a black mark on Indian Society.

Shri Morarka (Ganganagar-Jhunjhunu): Since this is the first Budget after our Five Year Plan came out in its final shape and with its full implications, this Budget is bound to be different from our usual Budgets inasmuch as it is, through this Budget and ones which are going to follow that we are going to pilot the finances of our Five Year Plan. Therefore it is but natural that this Budget should be examined only against that background and in the context of the Five Year Plan and not in isolation.

One of the chief features of the Budget to which I wish to draw the attention of the House is, deficit financing. I think that is a most important thing in the Budget which deserves serious consideration at the hands of this House. Deficit financing is not a new to this country. It has been resorted to in the past several times but in the past, it has always been resorted to for the purpose of financing wars and it has always been associated with inflation and higher cost of living. That is the reason why the attitude of the public towards this mechanism of financing has become sceptic and people feel nervous when

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it is talked about. Therefore, they criticise it to an extent more than necessary.

Deficit financing becomes necessary when any country plans its economic development on a scale which involves a larger volume of expenditure than what is available to the country by taxation or by borrowing or by internal saving or foreign aid. This technique of deficit financing in the past has been associated with a deficit economic policy. Some countries have followed it with restraint and prudence and have been successful in reviving their business activities and have come out of depression. Other countries have followed it so recklessly that in no time they landed themselves in economic trouble. Deficit financing in itself is neither good nor bad. It all depends upon the circumstances in which it is followed, the extent to which it is followed and the economic policy which is associated with it to counteract its adverse effects.

If we examine our Five Year Plan we see that the Plan envisages deficit financing, in no uncertain terms, to the extent of Rs. 290 crores. That, in my humble opinion, is a very modest estimate, though, I am afraid, that the actual extent of deficit financing is going to be much more than Rs. 290 crores. As the House knows, Rs. 365 crores are still remaining uncovered in our Plan. The Planners have said that this amount of Rs. 365 crores, they would cover firstly by additional taxation in the country; secondly by increased borrowing and thirdly by foreign aid. Talking about additional taxation, though we can look forward with a certain amount of interest to the recommendations of the Taxation Enquiry Committee which has now been set up, yet, looking to the present situation, I say with some confidence that we may not get much more revenue from this source of taxation. Though the Centre in recent years has not imposed any additional taxation—and indeed it has given some relief—the States, on the other hand, have gone on increasing their taxation in many ways with the result that the tax burden on the individual today is much heavier than ever before.

About internal borrowing, you know, in the recent years, the borrowing programme of the Government has hardly met with any success. Since 1947-48 the total Government loans have decreased from Rs. 1517 crores to Rs. 1403 crores and that is going to be further reduced in the Budget year by 15 crore rupees. That

is, of course, assuming that the Finance Minister would be able to raise Rs. 100 crores by borrowing, which he has promised to raise as per the Budget.

An Hon. Member: By printing.

Shri C. D. Pande (Naini Tal Distt. cum Almora Distt.—South West cum Bareilly Distt.—North): Why not by printing?

Shri Morarka: As regards foreign aid, with the republican victory in the United States of America, it has become very difficult for any country which wishes to plan its economic development on a peace-time basis to expect any aid from that country. Their recent slogan of 'more trade but no aid' has only confirmed such an apprehension. This means that the actual extent of our deficit financing is going to be somewhere between Rs. 290 and Rs. 655 crores depending, of course, on our capacity to raise money internally and ability to borrow externally. And, in view of this, it is very important to clearly understand the economic policy which we are going to associate with this mechanism of deficit financing so that the adverse effects of this method of financing may be counteracted.

The Finance Minister, in his Budget speech, has told us that there would be an over-all Budget deficit of Rs. 140 crores on the Capital account. Of this Rs. 140 crores, the Finance Minister proposes to make up Rs. 30 crores by depleting our cash balances from Rs. 80 crores to Rs. 50 crores; the remaining Rs. 110 crores the Finance Minister proposes to raise by additional borrowing. The Finance Minister does not state the exact method or manner of this additional borrowing; rather he leaves it to be decided later on at the proper time when the occasion arises.

Shri C. D. Pande: That is what he says; what have you to say about it?

Shri Morarka: If you examine the present economic situation of this country, you see that this is the ideal time for anything like deficit financing. The House knows that at the moment the private sector is passing through some sort of recession. The stocks in some of our industries are accumulating; some industries are closing down; there is unemployment; there is a fall in the price level, at least in the wholesale price-level. Therefore, any additional money injected into this field or into this pri-

vate sector would do not harm; on the other hand, it would do good. I say it would do good because it would increase the employment by opening industries which are now closed down as they are starving for finance and for some capital help.

Most of the hon. Members who have criticised this Budget have done so on the ground that this Budget is going to resort to deficit financing and that immediately you resort to deficit financing, there is going to be inflation, and, immediately, it is going to disturb the economy of this country. I beg your leave to examine the criticism in some detail as I propose to show that their criticism, at least under the present conditions, is simply baseless and unfounded. The first assumption that they have made is that Government is going to raise the total amount of Rs. 110 crores by resorting to deficit financing, that is by printing more money. Here, today, when even the Finance Minister could not predict how much of this amount he is going to raise by deficit financing and how much by further borrowing from the public, it is very difficult for any hon. Member in this House to say that the entire Rs. 110 crores is going to be raised by deficit financing. Now, suppose for the sake of argument that we raise Rs. 50 or Rs. 60 crores by borrowing from the public, then the need for resorting to deficit financing would be reduced to that extent. In other words, we would have deficit financing only to the extent of Rs. 60 crores or Rs. 50 crores. Therefore, it is all the more necessary for those hon. Members who feel that deficit financing is a dangerous weapon and that it should not be used, to see that the borrowing programme of the Government is rendered more and more successful.

It is true that the whole of the Russian Plan was financed by internal saving and it is also our desire to increase our internal saving so that the need of resorting to deficit financing or foreign borrowing may be less. There is, however, a difference in our method and the method which was adopted in Russia. We cannot compel the people to sacrifice their consumption standards; we cannot compel them to save beyond a certain limit; we have only to rely on their voluntary co-operation and we can only persuade them to do these things. If the hon. Members used their good offices and if they could persuade people to save and to harness them for the purposes of our Five Year plan, to that extent the need for deficit financing would be automatically less.

The second assumption which the critics make is that the whole of this Rs. 110 crores, immediately it is spent, would go into the hands of such people who would have no capacity or have no desire to save at all, and all the Rs. 110 crores would be immediately utilised for the purpose of purchasing consumption goods. Here, while it is very difficult to say how much of this Rs. 110 crores would filter into the hands of the needy and how much would go into the hands of well-to-do people, still it can be easily imagined that it is bound to go in some proportion to people who cannot save at all, but by the same token some of it will certainly be going in the hands of such people as can save and as have the ability to save. People who have high liquidity preference are generally the people who would reduce the standard of consumption only for the purpose of increasing their saving. If we save, then to that extent the impact of the increased currency in circulation would be reduced on the demand for consumption goods, and to that extent the price of consumption goods would be kept in check automatically without any effort on anybody's part.

The third assumption which unfortunately is a very wrong one is that throughout this whole period of deficit financing, production and supply of consumption goods would remain constant. If the increased quantity of money in circulation is accompanied by increased supply, then the price level remains undisturbed, but if only the quantity of money in circulation rises while the quantity of supply of the goods remains constant, then the price rises. I do not know on what basis hon. Members have assumed that the quantity of the supply of consumption goods would remain constant. Some of our big schemes are already producing results, and others are reaching a point of maturity. Within the next year or two, before we inject more money into circulation, these schemes would have matured and they would start producing foodgrains and other needs. In respect of other consumer goods like cloth etc., we have already started producing more and their effect on prices is evident. The success of deficit financing depends upon the productivity of the projects to which this method should be married. But apart from all these things, even supposing the necessity does arise, the Government has many other weapons for curbing inflationary tendencies. The Government can always control inflation by, first of all,

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controlling the volume of profit and investment in the private sector. Secondly, with the help of the regulation of foreign trade, it can always increase and decrease the supply of the quantity of goods and the supply of money in the market. Thirdly, and lastly, they can exercise physical and strategic controls. While talking about physical control, if we want our policy of deficit financing to be a full success, then our aim should be to mend rather than to end these physical controls, at least so far as the prime necessities of life are concerned.

It is really a great pity that our planning period should be accompanied by floods, famines, cyclones, and other natural calamities, to meet which our exchequer has to spend a lot of money. The refugee problem is another big and serious drain on our resources. But more than all this is our defence expenditure. The time in which our planning is taking place is one of uncertain international situation. It is this uncertainty coupled with fear that compels us to keep huge armies even at exorbitant cost. While the necessity of guarding our national frontiers and the importance of our national security cannot be under-estimated, at the same time the fair question is whether a country like ours can really afford such huge armies at such a high cost, and at the same time aspire to implement such a gigantic Plan? It is a tragedy of our times that our nation which is consistently neutral, persistently peaceful and insistently secular should be called upon to spend a sum no less than Rs. 200 crores every year on a venture essentially non-productive—defence. Any economy that we can effect in this respect would reduce our necessity to resort to deficit financing. I am not an expert to suggest how but it is not possible to accept that no economy in this defence expenditure is possible, and while I cannot suggest the ways and means, I do request that Government must seriously consider this question of reducing defence expenditure. I say so, because if defence of peace is to be built, and if it is to be built for all times to come, then it should be built, not by the army, not by increased expenditure on armaments, but it should be built in the minds of people, and it can be built in the minds of people only by curing the ailments of poverty and illiteracy. It is said that in the battlefield it is not the gun that fights; it is the hand; not even the hand, but it is the heart that fights.

Shri Khardekar (Kolhapur *cum* Satara): Today considerable heat has been generated in the House and if the temperature outside is about 12° above normal, it is considerably more so in the House. I will try my best, therefore, to bring down the temperature.

I must say that I was thoroughly disappointed with the Budget. I expected a good deal of the romanticism in this year's Budget at least, but there has been more of the head than of the heart. The economist has got the better of the humanist. To give one or two examples, already the aids to beauty were taxed. They have now been taxed more. Even when mankind moved about in the jungles without the loin cloth, they took care to decorate themselves. Decoration precedes even dress. Now, philosophers have been telling us that beauty is only skin-deep, but I am here to prove—and in the light of experience, you Sir, also know—that beauty is not skin-deep; it is merely powder-deep, and to levy an additional tax on face powder and other aids to beauty is certainly to tax beauty, and that, if I may say, is a way of showing that we are a little uncivilised. To quote a prominent thinker, Abercrombie, "aesthetic culture is the true measure of civilisation."

An Hon. Member: The duty is also skin-deep.

Shri Khardekar: Perhaps the Finance Minister may say that by taxing aids to beauty we are taxing only the rich. That is fantastic nonsense. I do submit that all the romance of the poor people has been interfered with. I hope that you know that *pan* is a direct means to romance, and betel nut is a direct means to *pan*, and by raising the duty further on betel nut, romance from the poor has been taken away. Then, one might be led to think that the middle classes have been benefited. Whatever relief has been given through the income-tax office has been withdrawn through the post office.

A lot has been said about deficit financing. People have spoken almost *ad nauseam* about it. I will raise only one doubt. Deficit financing in other countries has been resorted to mainly to meet a depression or to mitigate the evil of unemployment. Here the Finance Minister has been bold enough to resort to deficit financing as a means of development. If our development plans were to work strictly according to schedule, it is

quite possible that everything would have been all right, but because our plans are based on so many wrong assumptions, I am quite sure that our Plan will not work up to schedule. In the speech of the Finance Minister, we have an admission, artistically and beautifully concealed, that there is something wrong and we are not going as we should. In plain language, if I were to paraphrase what he has said, he has said that all the States had agreed to behave, but certainly some States have misbehaved. Now, I would like the Finance Minister to let us know what positive steps are being taken to bring these truants to book. I am really ignorant of economics, fortunately, and, therefore, I will not lose myself in the labyrinth and jugglery of figures. But I know this as a human being that all sciences, including social sciences, particularly economics aim at making man more progressive and making man more happy. Now in a Budget that leaves education starved and health neglected, I think there is no possibility of either progress or happiness.

I would like to refer here to a speech once made by our Prime Minister. You know, besides being many things our Prime Minister is a master of phrase, and in one very glorious sentence he described Government as a sort of house-keeping. Now in this governmental house-keeping naturally the Finance Minister is the housewife. The Deputy-Speaker has very often told us and rightly that though as a nation we have several defects, there is something to be said about our family system. Now, in our family, the elderly lady, the mother, or normally the grandmother, loves all the children equally, but bestows the greatest care on those who need it the most. But this Deshmukh mother has been the very opposite of the grandmother, has been the very opposite of the natural mother. And here with this introduction I come to the most important question as far as this country is concerned, the question of the backward classes and how they have been treated.

A friend of mine over there was very eloquent in his praise of the Government policy. Now this is not the time to go into details and all particulars. I hope, if given a chance, to discuss the grievances of the backward classes at the time of the Finance Bill. I say, if given a chance, because in my case it is a very big 'if'. That is what I can say from experience. Now, I want to discuss

briefly the policy, the approach and the method of the Government in dealing with the backward classes in general and the Scheduled Castes in particular. If I were to use a metaphor, I would say the efforts of the Government in this direction are like the efforts of an inexperienced doctor, who with all the kindness in the world goes on rubbing ointment to the body of his patient when that body is suffering from blood poisoning. Now what is important is not where we are going or what we are doing. Progress, as Tolstoy said, lies in going in the right direction. I know that the Government has the best of intentions in the world. Government means well. But here I am reminded of a sentence I read the other day in the latest issue of the *Reader's Digest* and that sentence reads thus:

"If you mean well, but if you don't do well, you are just a fool."

Is the problem so very difficult? Those who have eyes must be able to see and hearts to feel must be able to feel. The crux of the whole problem of the backward classes is the problem of poverty. Now, in order to understand the implications, the full implications of this problem, it is very necessary once and for all to know the positive views on this point, of Gandhiji and Shaw, because I believe they summarise the whole problem very beautifully. Now, Gandhiji glorified the poor. He said that the poor were his very *Daridra-narayan*. Now, this is in the saintly tradition of Saints like St. Francis of Assisi, who was wedded, as you know, to poverty. The Bible also has been telling us that the meek shall inherit the earth. But we know from experience that it is not the meek that inherit the earth, but it is the strong and the vicious who possess the earth. Now, Gandhiji's approach or view would have been most welcome had his followers—I do not just stop there—and his countrymen had something or a good deal of Gandhiji in them. Unfortunately, we have Gandhiji on our lips and something else in our hearts, and that is the whole trouble.

Look at the view of Shaw. Shaw considered poverty as a crime. Poverty meant to Shaw illness, disease, weakness, meanness, filth and the rest of it. And he said what we must attack is not ignorance, sin, suffering; we must attack poverty.

[Shri Khardekar.]

By attacking poverty we attack all these other things. And a brilliant sentence of his is: "The crimes of a robber are the virtues of a financier." Now if we accept this view—as I think we as rational beings and knowing the problems of this country ought to—then it is very likely we will put an end to poverty. If we cannot put an end to poverty at least we will make the poor ashamed of their wretchedness and that will enable them to reform themselves. My submission is, if we are not able to offer a proper alternative, it is our duty to foster a revolution. Now the question may be asked: the Finance Minister may ask: How are you going to solve the problem of poverty? It is a huge problem. Well, I offer a few humble suggestions.

Now we have the Upper House at the Centre and in the States. Why not scrape them? Then we have these several Governorships. Why do you want them? I know constitutional changes may have to be introduced. But my point is: why should we be so much after the externals and the mere show of democracy? The essence of democracy and the basis of democracy lies in raising the standard of the common man and giving him dignity; the basis of democracy lies in giving proper education to the poor. Now, as has been said democracy without education is hypocrisy without limitation. So why should we go about with all the external paraphernalia of democracy without giving democracy what I may call the very soul of democracy.

Then, about Governorships. Now what a luxury they are? I do not mean to say the Governors are bad people. Take the case of Bombay. Mr. Bajpai, I know, would be a very valuable addition to the Cabinet Benches. But what is he doing in Bombay? Just vegetating, nothing else. Now, if I were to describe Bajpai's work in Bombay I would say that he is like an ineffective schoolmaster without his proverbial rod trying to teach in vain nine supreme duds. That is what he is doing.

Take the question of estate duty. I found an ominous omission of any reference to it in the Finance Minister's speech; but we have heard him clarify the position. But the trouble does not stop there. If you scrape those who are at the top, see that you

feed those who are right at the bottom. By making the overlord pay the underdog you will be doing something wonderful and that is poetic justice.

There is the question of zamindari abolition. We have been talking about it for long and loudly. Why not make it a fact all over India and see that the backward classes get priority? Then we are having so many river valley schemes and irrigation projects. Now those who are landlords round about are going to be immensely benefited. Can the Government not, if it has any sense of justice, as was claimed by my hon. friend who was speaking eloquently, reserve about 15 or 20 per cent. of the adjoining land for the Scheduled Castes? You cannot bring about enthusiasm and cooperation of the people by feeding them on words and phrases; you should feed them properly.

There is the question of prohibition. I will say something new and something different.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has finished his time.

Shri Khardekar: My group, I am sure, would not mind.

Some States are indulging dogmatically in this moral luxury of prohibition. I will cut my observations short. The Prime Minister two years ago went to Poona and talked about priorities and values—presupposing considerable culture there. Two months ago the Finance Minister, in order to show a face-saving device to the Bombay Government, said: in view of the famine conditions in Maharashtra it is time for you to revise your policy of prohibition. One Minister not concerned with prohibition, not the Chief Minister—well, concerned with Forests, I do not mean he is a *jungli*—he said: we are not short of funds for famine relief and so on. I do not know, I am doubtful whether they are short of funds. But they are very short of something called the gray matter at the top. Now, my friend Khandubhai in Delhi and Morajibhai in Bombay have been shouting at the top of their voice of the grand success that prohibition has been and their policy of prohibition has elected them. I do not know. I humbly say—I am a very humble man, as you know—the Desais of Bombay are a peculiar people, once defeated, twice proud.

Then, the expenditure on administration.

Mr. Chairman: I think the hon. Member has finished his time already and he should not try to make new points. So many people are anxious to speak.

Shri Khardekar: Then administration.....

Mr. Chairman: I will give him two or three minutes more.

Shri Khardekar: As regards administration, suppose all of a sudden the Ministers themselves, half of them really with their conscience awakened think that so many poor Harijans and backward class people are starving, and they tender their resignations. Would there be a crisis or a catastrophe? I think there will be much less confusion.

People have been talking about equality and I am told—if I am wrong I am prepared to be corrected—that the Prime Minister speaking at Nagpur a few months ago said: the Scheduled Caste people should feel ashamed of themselves, asking for special privileges; we believe in equality. Again, fantastic nonsense, to talk of equality between unequals. Let me quote Gandhiji: you cannot talk of equality between a giant and a dwarf: If you want to talk of equality between a giant and a dwarf, raise the dwarf to the stature of the giant. I will just give an illustration. I was a sportsman when a young man and sportsmanship still continues. Suppose a race is to be run by twelve athletes. Three of them are cripples and nine are hale and hearty, absolutely fit, like a fiddle. And these nine insist that the race must be an open one, no handicap, equality. And these three have not been made cripple by nature but by these remaining nine. And they want prizes to be given to the first two or three and so on. Naturally, soon after they start they reach the tape whereas these three remain just at the starting point.

If my words of warning—let not my voice be the voice of Cassandra which implies a curse—if my words have no meaning and if my talk has no value then I will have to agree entirely with the view taken by the Deputy-Speaker that this House is not a talking shop. If it were a talking shop then these words would have some value.

Shri Syammandan Sahaya (Muzaffarpur Central): My first impression of

the Budget when I went through a portion of it was that it was a civilian's Budget and not a Statesman's Budget. It took account of the present but gave no indication of the future. It depended upon deficit financing, on foreign aid, on Pak payments or rather Pakistan payments, and on internal loans and took no account whatsoever of conditions of slump, of prices pegged high but no buyer, of unemployment growing—even according to the Finance Minister—in urban areas and, if I may say so, of accumulating stocks.

Our budgetary policy increases or decreases duties without in any way encouraging either the manufacturer or grower. It restricts or encourages imports on exigencies of the situation without having a planned programme. Then it increases railway fares in one year and postal rates in another.

These are factors which have to be taken note of by this House, the first elected Parliament of independent India, not only because of itself, but because of the fact that it has to set an example to those who follow. And I fear that history may have to record and posterity may say that ours has been the policy which is in biblical terms:

Oh Lord, peace be in my time,

And after me the deluge.

A number of friends have talked about deficit financing. I shall also submit a few words in that connection. But there is one thing which, I think, is true of a nation as much as of an individual, which has not been considered to be good economic policy, and which is aptly described in Sanskrit, that is, go on borrowing and taking butter as much as you like.

Shri Gadgil (Poona Central): It gives you more energy, to work more.

Shri Syammandan Sahaya: Friends of the Bombay Presidency say, it gives you more energy to work more. The whole question is if they took a little fish, more than a little butter, probably then they will be able to do even better!

This question of deficit financing comes up very prominently in relation to this Budget. Friends have also talked, and even the Finance Minister has said that this Budget has to be looked at from the standpoint of the Five Year Plan. All that is very good. There are two aspects of deficit financing. If the deficit

[Shri Syamnandan Sahaya]

financing is to be resorted to for the purposes of meeting your normal expenditure, that is, if there is a deficit between your recurring income and your recurring expenditure, including the recurring normal development expenditure, then, that deficit financing is definitely going to prove harmful. But deficit financing for purposes of developmental work, as we envisage not in all cases of the Planning Commission's Report but in many cases, that deficit financing has to be resorted to for a country like India. From this point of view I may make a suggestion for the consideration of the hon. the Minister of Finance. And that is that in framing the Budget it would be desirable to separate the two. As it is, if I am not mistaken, both the expenditure on capital developmental work and our normal expenditure have been put together.

Shri Tyagi: I think it is separate.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: Well, I have tried to find it, but I do not think so. I could not find it. Perhaps the hon. Minister in his reply will point it out to me. But the totality of expenditure under the different heads in the Budget is the same. I submit that they should have two separate Budget estimates, one for development expenditure which is not normal, the other the normal development expenditure plus the recurring income and recurring expenditure. I want to give this House an idea whether we are resorting to deficit financing for the purpose of our recurring expenditure or for the purpose of meeting capital development work.

It will be seen that the actual position this year is that we have had to wipe off all the balances and actually, as we had to keep Rs. 50 crores to meet our normal expenditure, we made certain provisions so that the balance in the Budget may come to about Rs. 50 crores. With regard to this, again I find that there are certain features of the Budget which ought to be taken into consideration. Firstly, we expect that about Rs. 18 crores from Pakistan by way of payments. I wish the Finance Minister every success in this endeavour but knowing as we do what has happened in the past, I feel very reluctant to accept this figure in the budget and lest there may be difficulties on this account, may I make a suggestion to the hon. Finance Minister

for his consideration? That is, in all Budget estimates—after all, it is budget estimates—it is not possible to lay down accurately, finally and positively which of these incomes will materialise and to what extent? But even so, we can generally presume which of these receipts are not likely to materialise? If that is so, and it happens almost in all Budgets. I would suggest that the income of which we are not sure, might be linked to avoidable expenditure. Otherwise, what happens? Generally in a big country, in a big province, expenditure goes on according to the estimated Budget but sometimes the receipts do not materialise.

Shri Tyagi: Does not my hon. friend feel that the debtor will know that the creditor is agreeing to postponement of his agreement?

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: I do not know whether the debtor is really so unwise as not to know to what extent we are going to yield. That is a political matter and I am not going to join issues with my friend on this point but what I say is that there is no use presuming in a Budget that the other party is not wise enough. They can know exactly how the matter is. It is not my desire to point out that you should have made no provision for that. Please do not misunderstand me. The provision that you have made is a perfectly legitimate provision. All that I say is that you must have a certain idea of what are the likely receipts which may not materialise and you must link them with avoidable expenditure in your own mind. You need not put it in the Budget. As a matter of control over expenditure, it will serve you well. It is a matter which is useful, of course, in small budgetary considerations but I might say that it might be usefully tried even in Budgets like the one we are considering now.

While, as I said, there are certain features of the Budget which deserve consideration, there are other welcome features and the one for which the Finance Minister deserves appreciation of this House is the appointment of the Taxation Enquiry Commission and permit me to say, not merely the appointment of this Commission but the finding of the most suitable Chairman for that—Dr. John Mathai. I have no doubt this Commission will render very useful assistance to the Government and the people and will be able to level up the inequities

which are at present found in the taxation structure of this country.

Then, this reduction in jute export duty also, I think, is a welcome change but in this connection also I would like to say a few words. I hope the Finance Minister will appreciate this point—it is not in a spirit of criticism I am saying this—it is necessary that certain things should be brought before him. Now, you will appreciate—perhaps I do not know whether you are sitting on that side or on this side—what a hullabaloo was created on account of a large profit in jute business going out of the Government's hands and coming into private business. Now that stage has passed away. The stage has come when "there is again a little trouble. The jute business is in difficulty. You must reduce export duty, otherwise the jute is not going to be sold in your market"—that kind of thing. It does not speak well of the administrative efficiency and the administrative make-up of the Government. You should be able to know beforehand where and what type of reduction, assistance or increment ought to be made. We only do it when the business already passes our hands and then make some profit which sometimes gives less assistance. That is not the way of handling exports and imports in this country. I know we are all new to it. Even so, I think it is time that from our own experiences, we might be able to make some changes.

The income-tax exemption limit again is a matter which, I think, deserves the commendation of this House. The Government have also reduced import duty on certain important medicines like penicillin, etc.

With regard to the import duty on certain luxury goods, I suppose my friend who spoke before me quoted some references and he thought that perhaps it was not right that these duties should be increased. I suppose he only has read something of an English poet or author. I wonder whether, if he had been here, he would probably have appreciated but for the Finance Minister, I will make another quotation; in Urdu:

खुद जवानी है जवानी का अंगार
और सादगी जेवर है इस सिर के लिए ।

The hon. Finance Minister, I suppose, follows this principle which is

laid down in this poem and not the one which was quoted by my friend.

Some Hon. Members: Translate it.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: The gifts of God in youth are an ornament by themselves. Those who possess these do not need any artificial ornamentation. I will give you the whole version if you like a little later.

Shri Tyagi:

गालि में भी बुतों की है मजा,
एक हुनर है एब भा उनके लिए ।

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: I have to say a word about certain taxation proposals. I find that import duties on uncut and unset precious stones and pearls have been increased. I personally feel it is not the correct way to do. In the first place it will lead to a lot of malpractices. Any diamond set in gold will be called as not unset but as set. The same difficulty arises with regard to uncut. I think the policy in this matter should be that we should be able to have as many precious stones in this country as possible. Let me also tell my hon. friend, the Minister of Finance that these are hidden reserves of a country and there is no use trying to shut them off. I therefore request him to consider this matter very carefully.

With regard to raising of postal insurance costs, I think, that is not in my opinion, a correct policy because what will happen is this. This will mean more business for banks. People will send remittances through banks rather than through postal insurance. Your rates are now higher and I think it will be cheaper for people to send remittances through banks. I visualise a day when all remittances should be through post offices. In order to do that you must be able to keep the postal charges within a certain limit. I will therefore suggest to my hon. friend to give this matter a little more attention.

With regard to the relief granted to authors and artists, here again, I think, a complication has been introduced. The relief applies to cases where the work has been done in more than a year. Now the question is, who is going to decide whether it was done in one year or more than one year. Who is going to decide whether a particular work of art has taken more than a year or less than a year? Therefore, if you want to give relief, it should be such that they may be able to avail of it easily.

[Shri Syamnandan Sahaya]

In the matter of borrowings, I find that in the Budget, the Government have taken a great deal of credit for themselves. But a serious difficulty has been created. Perhaps, the hon. Finance Minister is aware that on account of the bank rates going up, the value of Government securities has gone down. The result is that we are not encouraging people to invest in Government securities. As soon as the bank rates were raised, it was desirable that this matter should have been given due consideration. I will therefore suggest that if the hon. Minister really desires to have more money by borrowings, then he should take into consideration seriously this aspect of the matter. As I have not got much time, I am not able to give you greater details in regard to this matter.

There is one other thing to which I would like to draw the attention of the Government, and that is with regard to a definite increase, and if I may say so, a not acceptable increase in civil administration expenditure. From the Budget figures of 1952-53, you will find that provision under this head was Rs. 55.98 crores, while in the Budget for 1953-54, it is Rs. 71.27 crores, which means an increase of nearly Rs. 15 crores.

The Deputy Minister of Finance (Shri M. C. Shah): There are many more items than what were there under the Rs. 55 crores head in 1952-53.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: I am just giving you the totals which you have given in the estimates. The same thing has happened about external affairs also. The expenditure in 1952-53, was Rs. 3.97 crores, while now it is estimated to be about Rs. 532 crores. Even in the Finance Department, which ought to control other Departments and set an example to them, the expenditure has gone up from Rs. 1.14 crores to Rs. 1.42 crores.

I have not got much time to go into these matters in detail, but I shall certainly like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to some of these things, and particularly to the fact that they have been accepting loans from the International Bank at very high rates of interest. In one case, the rate of interest is 4½ per cent. while in another case, it was 4¼ per cent. I would like the Government to consider what reaction it is going to have on the money market in this country, and whether any profi-

table development work could be carried on with success and with profit at this very high rate of interest.

Shri Dabhi (Kaira North): While rising to congratulate the hon. Minister on presenting what he himself the other day said a very innocuous Budget, I would like to submit my views with regard to some important matters.

First of all, I would take up the question of Government's policy in regard to food control. From the announcements made by Government from time to time, it seems that their policy is firstly to continue control at strategic points, to remove the irksome features of control and to allow relaxations of controls subject to their continuance at strategic points. In pursuance of this policy, practically in all States, the ban on the movement of foodgrains within the State has been removed, and statutory rationing has been confined only to very big cities like Calcutta. But unfortunately, Bombay is the only State where the strictest control still continues. The hon. Food Minister has often said on the floor of this House that the present food policy of relaxation of food controls has been very successful, and that the overall food position also is very satisfactory. Under these circumstances, I would appeal to the Government to advise the Bombay State Government to remove the controls on foodgrains, except in the four big cities of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Sholapur and Poona. Even if that is not possible, I would suggest that at least statutory rationing should be removed from all the towns in the rest of the State, except these four cities, and wherever necessary, fair price shops should be opened. We have often heard the Prime Minister and the Food Minister saying that though they want to continue the controls of foodgrains at strategic points, they want to remove all the irksome features of this control. Whatever may be the position with regard to the other States, I understand that practically all the irksome features of this control on foodgrains have been removed, but unfortunately not in the Bombay State. In Bombay State, as I stated a little while ago, the strictest control still continues, even in small towns. In the first place, there is even inter-village ban on the movement of foodgrains. Statutory rationing is still continuing in all the towns having a population of 20,000 and more. And

do you know, what kind of rice and wheat we get at these ration shops? The wheat that we get at these shops is that red Australian wheat. Those who have eaten the chapatis made out of this wheat know that it always causes disturbance in the stomach.

Shri Syamandan Sahaya: Serious.

Shri Dabhi: Do you know what kind of rice we get at these shops?

Shri Syamandan Sahaya: Third class.

Shri Dabhi: Recently, we received at the ration shops rice which takes double the time normally taken by the ordinary rice for cooking. Moreover, after this rice is cooked, it gives such a bad odour.....

Mr. Chairman: May I bring to the notice of the hon. Member that he is criticising certain things which are within the exclusive powers of the State Government, and they are not here to reply to those points. It will be better to confine the discussion to the Budget, and its proposals.

Shri Dabhi: My point is that the policy has been laid down by the Centre, and if good foodstuffs are supplied, then there would be no difficulty at all. While such foodstuffs are supplied, which are not good, and at the same time the restrictions are so irksome, that even one pound of rice or wheat is not allowed for personal consumption, then we are put to a lot of difficulty. So, my request to the Government is that anyhow they should advise the State Governments to see that these irksome controls are removed. At least some rice or wheat for personal consumption should be allowed to be brought into the rationed areas. That was my only suggestion on this point.

In the Five Year Plan, there is a chapter on *khadi* and cottage industries. The Plan says that *khadi* and other village industries have a central place in the rural economy of the country. With regard to *khadi* we know that a Bill has been brought forward in this House to levy a cess on mill-made cloth with a view to encourage *khadi* and other cottage industries. Also a *Khadi* and Village Industries Board has been established for the encouragement of *khadi*. I am of the opinion that, if the Government really want to encourage *khadi*, the first thing they must do is not to purchase any of their cloth requirements, even for the uniforms

of the police and the army except from *khadi* so long as tolerably good *khadi* is available, without minding the cost of it. Otherwise, we are not going to give real protection to *khadi*. From the several indefinite and uncertain replies which I have received on the floor of the House from the Government, it seems that even though at present lakhs of yards of *khadi* are still lying unsold in the country, and lakhs of spinners are lying idle, Government are not purchasing any *khadi* worth the name, though their requirements may reach several lakhs of yards. Unless Government themselves set an example to other people by buying all their requirements in *khadi* they are not going to give real help to *khadi*.

With regard to the village *ghani* oil industry also, in the Five Year Plan, it has been stated that they want to give as much encouragement to the *ghani* oil industry as possible. Not only that. The Planning Commission has recommended that the Government policy should be to restrict the production of edible oils to the *ghani* industry and the non-edible oils to the mill industry. I was very much pleased when I read those recommendations. But my surprise was very much more when I read the other day in the new volume regarding Industrial programme of the Government, that the production of *vanaspati*, which is only an euphemistic name for solidified oil, which is far inferior to fresh oil, and which is often adulterated, is to rise from 153,000 tons to 300,000 tons at the end of the Five Year Plan. I do not know what the real policy of the Government is.

Lastly, I want to touch one point, that is, with regard to prohibition. I did not want to say anything about it. But, in this House some hon. Members have said that the Bombay prohibition policy has failed. I say that that is not a fact. It was stated in the papers that even the Finance Minister hinted that the Bombay Government should scrap the prohibition policy. Anyhow what he said meant in other words that this policy should be scrapped. I do not know what prompted the Finance Minister to say this. I want to say only one thing. Under article 47 of the Constitution, it is enjoined upon the State itself to bring about prohibition. I do not know if any responsible Member of the Government or of Parliament can, so long as that article is in our Constitution, say anything against this. Only one word and I have finished. I have no time to show to this House

[Shri Dabhi]

that this policy has been very successful, at least in the Bombay State. With your permission, I would only read one sentence from today's *Hindustan Times*. I am reading from the Bombay News Letter, which says:

"A village near Bombay made history during *Holi*. Instead of contenting themselves with colour and pyrotechnics, villagers completed on that day a programme of constructive activities they had launched upon earlier in the year. It is interesting to learn that the people are *Adivasis*, who in earlier years used to forget themselves during *Holi* in their liquor. This year they made rapid progress on that day in the construction of three roads through jungles to link with the main Bombay-Agra Road."

I make a present of this to those who, like my hon. friend Mr. Khardekar, are under the impression that prohibition has failed in the Bombay State.

Shri N. R. Naidu (Rajahmundry): Last year when the first Budget was presented to this Parliament, Speaker after speaker criticised the Budget. All that criticism was brushed away in one statement by the hon. Finance Minister, namely that it was based on a different ideology and that the Government was wedded to a different economy and as such, it should not be viewed in that light. In the other House while winding up the debate, the hon. Finance Minister referred to the same thing and said that this Budget should be criticised only with reference to the Five Year Plan because it is only an instrument of the Five Year Plan. A primary feature of this mixed economy is the Five Year Plan. As this Budget is only an instrument of the Five Year Plan, it should only further the successful implementation of the Five Year Plan. The question is this. From this Budget it is clear to the minds of the people that this Government is not inclined to favour the common man and that its sympathies are more with the business sectors of our country. If they are interested in getting the support of the businessmen, capitalists and foreigners for the successful implementation of the Plan, we have nothing to say in the matter.

But if they want public co-operation, co-operation from the common man, from the working people, for the successful implementation of the Five Year Plan, then this policy will not produce the necessary psychological

effect to get that co-operation. After all, when Mahatma Gandhi took up the salt tax and electrified the nation into a revolt against the former rule, it was not because he felt that the salt tax was an unbearable burden on the people, but because he expected that this would produce the necessary psychological effect to canvass the support of the working classes as well as the middle class peasants. So even our Finance Minister, I feel, has been hesitating to revive this tax solely because of that fear. What we have to impress upon the people is that this Government is trying to do something for the common man. The nearest way of approach to the common man is through the 'stomach'. Every day brings in its wake news of the closing down of factories, retrenchment in commercial and other undertakings and eviction of tenants from agricultural lands. Unemployment has been highly rampant in all parts of the country. At a stage like this the present Budget does not deal with this problem. It visualises that there will be only a five million increase in unemployment. But according to an economist of the British Labour Party, who has been here doing some research on the subject, there are 50 million unemployed people in this country and normally the number of unemployed among the working classes will be about 25 million by the end of five years. So the primary object of Government should be to somehow or other wipe out this unemployment problem. The policy of the Government could easily be seen—that they are not for doing any good to the lower income groups. When some of us advised that the salary of such of those people who are paid over a thousand rupees should be reduced, the hon. the Finance Minister said that it would only give an increase of Rs. 1/8/- for the lower paid people, and that was merely a distribution of poverty. That is the type of attitude that the Finance Minister shows towards the low-paid and lower income groups. If this is the attitude that the Government shows, it will not produce the necessary psychological reaction among the masses and the masses will think 'here is a Government which favours the capitalists more than the common man' and as such the necessary co-operation would not be forthcoming for the successful implementation of this Five Year Plan and it would necessarily be a failure at the end.

After all is said and done, the Five Year Plan is bound to do some good

to this country, provided there is public co-operation. That is a feature admitted even by the Government.

Another important fact about this national Plan is that it is a pity to see party politics playing havoc with some of our developmental works. I need only refer to the Ramapadasagar and Nandikonda projects to illustrate my point. The Nandikonda project was recommended by expert opinion. The people were very enthusiastic about it and it does not require as much money as some of the other projects, while the benefits accruing from it would undoubtedly be great. And yet during the period of these five years we will only have further investigations on that project, and not an accomplished project!

Then take the Ramapadasagar project. It was thanks to the machinations of the Madras Government that the figures of the Ramapadasagar project were bloated up so high as to scare away the Central Government from implementing it and ultimately it stands shelved today while projects which have been taken up much later are almost nearing completion.

So in dealing with this, the Government should impress the people of India that they are not partial and then only the people will come out enthused to give full co-operation. But things like this would prove beyond doubt that the Government have been partial towards certain areas. Certain States are likely to get their things done because the only fortune they have is that some Ministers hail from their places. For example, I know there was a proposal to build a bridge over the Godavari in my constituency at a place called Alamur. It was started in 1949, and it has only been just begun even now! Whereas a bridge over the river Palar very near the village home of Shri Alagesan is nearing completion even though the water flows in that river only once or twice in a year. For a perennial river like Godavari which cuts off a population of about seven lakhs from the mainland, a bridge was thought of and its foundation was laid by the then Revenue Minister of the State and yet what is the result? Even a beginning has only been made so far.

Instances like this clearly prove that Government are partial with respect to certain areas, and so long as this partiality is there, the result is that the support of the people will not be forthcoming, because they will not be enthused to work.

Then so far as deficit financing which has been resorted to by our Finance Minister is concerned, it must necessarily lead to inflation, and inflation means high prices, and without a corresponding rise in the incomes of the lower income groups it would only add to the common man's miseries. If there are no controls at a time when there is deficit financing, it would be almost impossible for these people to carry on. Particularly controls on merely essential commodities like rice, wheat and millets are not sufficient. You do not just eat rice and be satisfied. You must also take into consideration such other things which are absolutely necessary for ordinary living. There must be pooling of all these necessities and there must be a uniform control. I know, for example, a rice-growing man was forced to sell his paddy at a controlled rate, while every other commodity that is necessary for making food shot up 300 to 400 per cent. at one time. Mere introduction of control of rice would not be of help to the people. All these commodities must be pooled and uniform controls will have to be introduced when the Government resort to deficit financing.

Then much is said about prohibition. I come from a province where prohibition is being enforced to the satisfaction of the Government, but not to the satisfaction of any onlooker. You have merely to tap at the back of a prohibition officer for getting the necessary quota of arrack. You can stand in the street and shout for it and you get your arrack. That is the way in which prohibition has been successfully working in our State of Madras!

Another thing about this prohibition is that first of all, it is an ideal. We should think of an ideal only after knowing how to live realistically. You cannot attempt to run when you do not know how to walk. We in our State have not even been able to stand with all the crises in our economic affairs. So, we should think of ideals like prohibition only when we have learnt to live.

Shri Nambiar (Mayuram): I would like to make a submission, Sir, that in the whole Budget discussion, from the Communist Group only one Member has been called and no other.

Mr. Chairman: I think that if every Group wants one speaker every day it will not be possible. All that is possible is being done. I will explain the position as I understand it. There are so many independent people, they also have a legitimate grievance that

[Mr. Chairman]

they do not get a chance if the Parties always insist that they should have their 'pound of flesh' as I would call it. Then naturally the main trouble is that there is not enough time to accommodate all.

Shri V. P. Nayar (Chirayinkil): But, Sir, it has been the practice to give a chance to a speaker from our Group every day, even in the discussion on the President's Address.

Mr. Chairman: I do not think I have been unfair to anybody. I will call Dr. Sinha.

Dr. M. M. Das (Burdwan—Reserved—Sch. Castes): On a point of information, Sir. The other day, the Deputy-Speaker said to one of our Members, Ganpati Ram that he was not called because the Whip of his Party did not put his name. Now, Sir, I would like to know what is the procedure that is followed here for calling Members of the Congress Party, whether it is taken from the list that has been submitted by the Chief Whip of the Congress Party or whether it is the discretion of the Speaker or Chairman to call Members of the party whomsoever he likes.

Mr. Chairman: As I understand it, it is for the different Parties and Groups to make suggestions and it is for the Speaker or Chairman, whoever it may be for the time being, to arrange the debate in the House and I think, in practice, to stick fastidiously to certain rules. In my opinion, is not likely to succeed. But, generally speaking, we have to follow that in such a way that all sections and different views are represented in the House. I think that should be the correct attitude so far as I can see. I call Mr. Lingam.

Dr. S. N. Sinha (Saran East) *rose—*

Mr. Chairman: I called Dr. Sinha first but I am sorry he was not there. I then called Mr. Lingam.

Dr. S. N. Sinha: I stood up, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: I have now called Mr. Lingam.

Shri N. M. Lingam (Coimbatore): I consider it my great good fortune that when I should rise to speak the hon. Finance Minister and the hon. Minister for Revenue and Expenditure happen to be here because it is not always that these two are present

when the Budget discussion goes on in this House.

The Budget has been described variously as a 'Civilian's Budget', as a 'bureaucrat's Budget', as an 'economist's Budget' and not a Budget of a 'humanist', which has in it romance and poetry. My own view of the Budget is that it bears the true impress of the personality of the Finance Minister. The Finance Minister, for all appearances, is prosaic and unassuming. So, also the Budget for all appearances may look prosaic but it contains at least as much poetry and romance as the Finance Minister possesses in himself.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: Please repeat it; we did not hear you properly.

Shri Tyagi: No, Sir, we have heard him.

Shri N. M. Lingam: Another reason for my elation at this hour is that I was going to confine my remarks mainly to the Budget as related to the financing of the Five Year Plan. All the same, I cannot help making a reference to the portion in the Budget which has been the subject of much controversy, namely, the portion relating to deficit financing. Speakers have said already that deficit financing is not a new thing; that it is part of the normal budgetary procedure when the economy of the country is sound. From the Budget we see that the economic life of the country shows healthy trends. The balance of payment position has improved, our production has improved, prices have come down and attained a measure of stability and the food position is also showing signs of improvement. But, all the same, I do apprehend that deficit financing beyond a certain limit may jeopardise the financing of the Plan in pursuance of which such financing has been resorted to. My apprehension is based on the following grounds. In the first place, the Finance Minister has taken credit for the realisation of about 18 crores of rupees due from Pakistan to India—I think, it would be safe to assume that this debt is not realisable in the foreseeable future.

The Finance Minister has proceeded on the assumption that the States will play their part in raising the necessary revenue for financing the Five Year Plan. But experience has shown that—and the Finance Minister himself admits it—the States' efforts

have not matched their keenness in this regard. And judging from the conditions of scarcity, conditions of unemployment and other near-famine conditions obtaining in the States and also, considering the apathy of the States to raise revenue by levying new taxes as revealed by the Budgets of the various States for the year 1953-54, it looks as if our hopes of the States raising the expected finances in furtherance of the Five Year Plan are rather bleak. This is the real cause for misgivings with regard to the financing of the Five Year Plan.

With regard to our own ability itself, it looks as if it is not going to be well with the finances of the Government of India having regard to the international conditions. The Special Correspondent of a well-known paper cables from London, after the presentation of the Budget about the negotiations that are now going on between the U.K. and the U.S.A. regarding questions like the convertibility and international trade. This is what he writes:

"Whatever may ultimately come out of the Anglo-American economic talks which are due to begin today in Washington, there are indications that expert opinion here is more and more inclining to the view that there may be no escape for Britain from further devaluation and reduced consumption. This is not only implicit in much of the discussion that has very largely occupied and to which the *London Times* has been lately giving space in its correspondence columns but is brought out very plainly by two authorities in this field whose views have just been published."

So, it looks as if we are going to face another devaluation, in spite of what the Finance Minister has said that in the devaluation we have already done *prayaschitta* for all our financial transactions in the past. We do not know how far this devaluation, if it comes as experts say it would, will affect our balance of payments position.

Then again, although it is claimed that the prices have shown a downward trend, that they have attained a measure of stability, still it is too early to predict that prices are sufficiently low or stable to warrant deficit financing on the scale envisaged in the Budget. I hope the Finance Minister will allay these misgivings, or take steps to see that the finances are not allowed to be impaired by these con-

siderations which obviously were not in existence when the Budget proposals were being framed.

I now come to the Five Year Plan. It has been said that the Budget has been prepared with the background of the Five Year Plan, and that the Finance Minister is keen on increasing the tempo of expenditure on the Plan, so that it may proceed according to schedule. Much has been said against the Plan not only in this House but outside, but the fact remains that the Plan is the only channel through which the enthusiasm, the talent and the resources of the country can be mobilised for the welfare of the nation. It is clear that in a hopelessly underdeveloped country like ours, the Five Year Plan is only the beginning of a long era of planning, and it is necessary that we look as far ahead as possible, so that we may gear the whole economic life of the community to financing not only this Plan but future Plans that are under contemplation. The unfortunate position of an underdeveloped country is that while priorities have to be given to the development of the nation in certain fields, the development in other fields of national life cannot be neglected. Other aspects of national life also cry for solution. Every department of national life has to be attended to. We have to advance in all fields; food production; industrialisation; uplift of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes; education; health; and so on and so forth. It is this need to attend to all aspects of planning in the national life that to some extent lessens the value of the Plan. It lessens the effectiveness of the Plan. The only way to succeed is, not to be dismayed by the stupendous problem posed before us, but to proceed as best as we can with the implementation of the Plan. The *sine qua non* for such implementation is, it will be agreed, that we should create the necessary atmosphere, the necessary enthusiasm in the country. There are two ways of doing this. One is to harness the manpower resources of the country by compulsion and the other is to persuade the people to agree to voluntary effort to successfully implement the Plan. We have chosen the line that we should have this Plan executed by the willing co-operation of the people, and this can only be achieved by creating a sense of urgency, a sense of enthusiasm, a sense of crisis in the country. Not all the pamphlets, not all the booklets, not all the propaganda operating from New Delhi or from the headquarters of the States, will enable us

[Shri N. M. Lingam]

to rouse the masses to a supreme endeavour to see the completion of this Plan. What is necessary is that we should carry out a pruning and streamlining of the administration from top to bottom. We should avoid waste and unnecessary expenditure in every department in the machinery of Government. Individually, such economies may be negligible, but collectively they will be considerable and psychologically they will have a tremendous effect on the people as a whole.

Then—it is not for the first time that this proposal has been put forward—we cannot afford the luxury of having these Upper Chambers. The existence of Part C States is an anachronism and they should go. Most of these Part C States are smaller than *talukas*, or districts, and it is fantastic that we should have all the paraphernalia of a full-fledged legislature, a Lt.-Governor or a Chief Commissioner.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

We can effect economies in other fields also. For instance, Government have launched the formation of the Andhra State at present. Undoubtedly, there is a case for redistribution of the States having regard to linguistic affinity, administrative convenience and economic viability. It was thought that the Andhra State would be the easiest to form having regard to these considerations, but as we all know, it has confronted the Government with exceptional and unforeseen difficulties. So, I wish to impress on this House as well as on the Government that if it is found as a result of this problem of creating an Andhra State that more problems are going to be created, it is better to shelve the question than to proceed with the formation of the State itself. With regard to the formation of other States on a linguistic basis, I would most earnestly plead that the whole question may be put off for another ten years, so that, meanwhile, the freedom of the country may have been consolidated and the Plan would have been implemented successfully.

With regard to the implementation of the Plan itself, I want to narrate one or two instances of experiences which I had at the district level. Without drastic changes in the administrative machinery, it is impossible to execute the Plan at the lower levels. To me, it appears that planning should have been commenced

from the bottom upwards. At any rate there should have been three tiers: first, the district level; then the State level; and lastly, the Central level. Each should have its own resources. Unless there is devolution of power to the village, to the district, etc. with attendant resources, it is impossible to direct the implementation of the Plan from the Centre. Government have, in the Plan, suggested some changes in the administrative machinery to implement the Plan. They have formed what are called planning boards in the districts, but from my experience of the working of these planning boards I find that they serve no useful purpose. They have neither the initiative nor the power to do anything in furtherance of the Plan.

In my own district, there are one or two hydel schemes, but however much I try to rouse the people to co-operate with the implementation of the schemes, all my efforts fall flat, because they simply do not know what on earth they have to do with the hydel schemes. There are the engineers; there are thousands of labourers working; and there are the resources of the Government. Similarly, I cannot expect an individual in U.P. to enthuse over the irrigation project in Tungabadhra. Such being the case, unless the Plan is worked so comprehensively as to affect the lives of the people in India as a whole, it will not enthuse the public, or generate co-operation from them. The reason for the apathy and indifference of the people is that they do not feel that the Plan affects their daily lives. In this connection I would lay more emphasis on the community projects aspect of the plan to begin with, as it affects the day-to-day life of the people. If the emphasis shifts to the villages, if the community project portion of the Plan is given added impetus, public co-operation will be forthcoming for the entire Plan.

I have to say a great deal more about the Budget, but the time at my disposal is so short that it will not be possible to do justice to it. As I said, the need of the hour is consolidation of power, organisation and co-ordination of the will of the people of India and to the extent the Budget does not bear impress of this urgency, I must say the Budget is defective. The Finance Minister has said in the concluding portion of his Budget speech:

“It requires as much of inspired, informed and understanding

leadership as a sense of discipline, a co-operative attitude and a spirit of sacrifice in the interest of the common good on the part of the community."

This is the crux of the whole matter. The spirit of sacrifice is nowhere to be seen in the Budget. Unless the spirit of sacrifice is introduced and practised throughout the country on a national scale, I am afraid the successful implementation of the Plan cannot be achieved.

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज (शोलापुर—रक्षित—अनुसूचित जातियाँ) : आज बजट पर बोलते हुए कई लोगों ने हमारे अछूतों के बारे में बहस की है और लेक्चर भी दिये हैं। लेकिन मेरे ब्याल से हम लोगों के लिए जो कुछ काम हो रहा है वह अच्छे दिमाग से, अच्छी दृष्टि से नहीं हो रहा है। हम लोगों की तरफ से जो रिप्रेजेंटेटिव्स (representatives) हैं वह अलग अलग नारे लगाते हैं। हमारे आर्थिक सवाल के बारे में अभी तक कांग्रेस ने कुछ नहीं किया है। और बहुत से बिल पास किये हैं जैसे कि डिसएबिलिटी बिल (Disability Bill) पास किया है लेकिन जब हम अपनी नौकरी चाकरी के बारे में जो कुछ सवाल करते हैं, कुछ मांग करते हैं तो हम को कुछ न कुछ जवाब दे कर दबा दिया जाता है। नागपुर की दलित कान्फेंस में जब हमारे भाई जगजीवन राम जी अध्यक्ष थे उस समय नेहरू जी ने कहा था कि अछूतों में नौकरी चाकरी के मामले में जातिवाद नहीं होना चाहिये। मैं कहता हूँ कि अगर देखा जाय तो मालूम होगा कि जितने ऊंचे ऊंचे अफसर हैं वह सब ऊंचे वर्ग के हैं। लेकिन जब हम अपने लिए कुछ बात कहते हैं तो हम को जातिवादी कहा जाता है। इस देश में हम अछूतों की संख्या पांच करोड़ से ज्यादा है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय मुझे यह कहते हुए शर्म लगती है कि जिस कम्युनिटी (community) में मैं पैदा हुआ हूँ उस के प्रति अभी भी देश में छुआछूत मौजूद है। कानून तो आप ने बना

दिया है लेकिन वह अमल में नहीं आता। हम इस के लिए आवाज उठाते हैं। लेकिन जब से कांग्रेस की गवर्नमेंट बनी है तब से हम को दबाया जा रहा है। अगर हम बोलते हैं तो कहते हैं कि तुम कांग्रेस के खिलाफ हो। क्या हम देश के दुश्मन हैं? हमारी आर्थिक दशा खराब है। हमारा दरजा ऊंचा होना चाहिए। उस के बारे में कुछ नहीं हो रहा है। मैं आप को बताना चाहता हूँ कि आज देश में ईसाई हैं, मुसलमान हैं, हिन्दू हैं, और इस में भी छुआछूत फैली हुई है। इस के साथ ही गवर्नमेंट ने एक नई छुआछूत पैदा कर दी है। उन्होंने बैकवर्ड क्लास (backward class) और शिड्यूलड ट्राइब्स (scheduled tribes) कायम की हैं। बैकवर्ड क्लास के लिए छुआछूत नहीं है लेकिन उन को भी इस में मिला दिया गया है। मैं हरिजन नहीं कहलाना चाहता। लेकिन जब तक इस देश में छुआछूत है और हमारी आर्थिक दशा नहीं सुधरती, और हम को हिन्दुओं के बराबरी का दर्जा नहीं मिलता तब तक हम अछूत रहेंगे। हम लोगों में से जो लोग यहां बैठे हैं वह तरह तरह के नारे लगाते हैं। कुछ लोग ठीक बात बोलते हैं, कोई प्रतिकूल बात बोलते हैं। लेकिन हमारा कहना है कि जहां तक अछूतों का सवाल है उन को बराबरी का दरजा नहीं मिला है। एक बैकवर्ड क्लास कमीशन बनाया गया है। हमारी कम्युनिटी में ऐम० ए० हैं, पी० एच० डी० हैं लेकिन उस का अफसर सबर्ग हिन्दू को रखा गया है, जिन लोगों को दर्द है कि जितनी अच्छी तरह से उन के जाति के लोग काम कर सकते हैं दूसरे नहीं कर सकते। इन अफसरों में कुछ अच्छे भी हैं लेकिन जहां तक ही सके बैकवर्ड बोर्ड के लिए हमारा बैकवर्ड क्लासेज का ही अफसर रखना चाहिए। आज कांग्रेस के हाथ में पावर है। वह जिस तरह से चाहती है हम को दबाती है। यहां कई पार्टियों के लोग हैं। जब तक आप उन सब

[श्री पी० एन० राजभोज]

को कान्फिडेंस (confidence) में नहीं लेते तब तक यह केवल शो ही है। पांच वर्ष के लिए हरिजनों को यह अलग अधिकार रहा है। मैं पूछता हूँ कि पांच वर्ष बाद अछूतों का क्या होगा। पंडित नेहरू हमारे देश के प्राइम मिनिस्टर हैं। वह अछूतों के बारे में बोलते नहीं हैं। वह साउथ अफ्रीका (South Africa) के लोगों के बारे में बोलते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे देश में एक गांव में उन को साउथ अफ्रीका मिलेगा। वहां अछूतों की बस्तियां अलग हैं। वह साउथ अफ्रीका के लिए रोते हैं, फंड जमा करते। दूसरी तरफ रिफ्यूजीज (refugees) का सवाल देखिये। उन के लिए करोड़ों रुपया खर्च करते हैं लेकिन हम हजारों वर्षों से दब हुए हैं, हमारे पास मकान नहीं, जमीन नहीं, हमारे लिए सैनीटेशन (sanitation) नहीं है, नौकरी चाकरी में हमारा ठीक रिप्रेजेंटेशन (representation) नहीं है, लेकिन हमारी हालत सुधारने के लिए कोई काम नहीं हो रहा है, कोई यूनीफार्म पालिसी (uniform policy) नहीं है। रिफ्यूजीज को मकान मिल गये, नौकरी चाकरी में उन को प्रिफरेंस (preference) दिया जाता है, लेकिन हम जो हजारों वर्षों से गुलामी में पड़े हुए हैं हम को प्रिफरेंस ठीक नहीं दिया जाता। हम को भी बराबरी का दर्जा मिलना चाहिए। हम लोगों को कान्फिडेंस में लेना चाहिए। हम लोगों ने देश को बचाया है, हम देश को बिगाड़ना नहीं चाहते लेकिन हमारी हालत अभी तक ठीक नहीं हुई है। आप कोरिया की बातें करते हैं, दूसरे देशों की बातें करते हैं। लेकिन हमारे पास घर नहीं है, हमारे पास पानी नहीं है और हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति ठीक नहीं है पर हमारे लिए आप कुछ नहीं कर रहे हैं। हमारे लिए कोई प्रावधान (provision) नहीं

किया जाता। हम चाहते हैं कि हम लोगों में कम्पलसरी ऐजुकेशन (compulsory education) होनी चाहिए।

बम्बई की सरकार ने शराब बन्दी की है। इससे प्रति वर्ष १५ करोड़ रुपये का नुकसान हो रहा है। और घर घर में शराब बन रही है। कुछ कांग्रेस के एम० पी० कहते हैं कि राम राज्य हो रहा है। यह झूठी बात है। आप मेरे साथ चलिये और जांच कीजिये तो आप को मालूम होगा कि हर गांव में दस दस, पांच पांच घर पीछे शराब की भट्टी है। ऐसा झूठा प्रचार करने से देश का भला नहीं होगा। आप को सच बोलना चाहिए। गांधी जी सदा सच से काम लेते थे, आप को भी सच से काम लेना चाहिए। मैं नहीं चाहता कि सारे लोग शराबी बन जायं लेकिन इन चार पांच सालों में हम को ६०,७० करोड़ का नुकसान हो गया। अब बम्बई राज्य में अकाल पड़ रहा है। शोलापुर और दूसरे जिलों में अकाल बहुत है। हमारी गवर्नमेंट थोड़ा बहुत कर रही है। आज हमारे महाराष्ट्र, गुजरात और कर्नाटक में लोगों की स्थिति बहुत खराब है उन के लिए कोई अच्छी तरह से काम नहीं हो रहा है। वहां के लोगों की नौकरी और रोजगार के लिए कुछ ठीक काम नहीं होता है।

मैं एक और बात बताना चाहता हूँ कि वहां अछूतों को हिन्दुओं से फसल में से अनाज मिल जाया करता था। लेकिन जब हिन्दुओं के खेतों में कुछ हुआ ही नहीं तो अछूतों को क्या मिल सकता है? उन की हालत बहुत खराब है। इसलिए मैं गवर्नमेंट को बताना चाहता हूँ कि जो बड़े बड़े अफसर हैं और मिनिस्टर हैं वह तो बड़े बड़े लोगों के साथ जाते हैं, पार्टियां खाते हैं, हवाई जहाजों में घूमते हैं और दो तीन दिन दोरा कबके आ जाते हैं।

अभी राम मूर्ति कमीशन गया था। वह शोला-पुर में गये। वहां बड़े बड़े आई० सी० एस आफिसर मौजूद थे। अगर वे देहात में जाते और देखते कि लोगों को पानी की, खाने की, मकान की क्या तकलीफ है तो उन को सही हाल मालूम होता। बड़े बड़े कमीशन बनते हैं, एलाउंस लेते हैं और गरीबों की तरक्की के लिए कुछ नहीं करते हैं। इसलिए मैं, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मुझे तो ऐसा मालूम होता है कि यह राम राज्य नहीं है, राक्षस राज्य है।

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari):
This is temporary. Ram Rajya will come later.

7 P.M.

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज मुझे इस के लिए बड़ा दुख मालूम पड़ता है। राम राज्य में भी एक शम्बूक नाम के अछूत को इसलिए मार डाला गया था कि वह तपस्या करता था। तो वैसे इस जमाने में जो कुछ हो रहा है यह मेरे ख्याल से ठीक नहीं है। इस वास्ते हम लोग अपोजीशन (opposition) के विरोध करते हैं और आप को बोलते हैं। हम लोगों को तो कहा गया है कि विलायत में अपोजीशन के लोगों को तनख्वाह मिलती है और उन की बात गवर्नमेंट वाले मानते हैं। इधर यहाँ अपोजीशन वालों को जेल में डाल देने की कोशिश करते हैं, यह क्या बात है?

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव (गुड़गांव) :
अपोजीशन वालों को यहाँ भी तनख्वाह मिलती है, सब को मिलती है।

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : वह तो मालूम है, यह तो सेशन (session) में अलाउन्स (allowance) मिलता है। आजकल जो कुछ हम कहते हैं उस में मिसअंडरस्टैंडिंग (misunderstanding) होती है। हर बात में, नौकरी के बारे में, मकानों के बारे में, जो कुछ हम बात कहते हैं उस पर अगल

नहीं होता है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय जी, मैं आप से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि यह जो काम हमारे लोगों के बारे में कुछ नहीं होता जिन के बारे में मैं हर वक्त पार्लियामेंट में बोलता हूँ, बैकवर्ड क्लास कमीशन का काम ठीक नहीं है, वह कमीशन सिर्फ कांग्रेस पार्टी का है। २५ पर सेंट जमीन गांव में पड़ी है, लेकिन वह मिलती नहीं है, यह चीजें नहीं होनी चाहियें। जमीन के लिये अप्लीकेशन (application) देने को जावेंगे तो शरणार्थी को मिलेगी, फिर दूसरे नम्बर में बैकवर्ड क्लास वाले को मिलेगी, तीसरे शिड्यूलड ट्राइब को मिलेगी और तब हम को। यह क्या हो रहा है? तो पहले जब तक देश में छुआछूत का सवाल और आर्थिक सवाल ठीक नहीं होता तब तक देश की हालत ठीक नहीं हो सकती। यह हमारे कम्युनिस्ट (Communist) भाई बैठे हैं। हैदराबाद में क्या है? हम लोगों के पास जमीन नहीं थी, तो उन लोगों ने कहा कि चलो, आबो, हम जमीन देंगे। तो कुछ दे दी होगी। तो मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि यही हालत रही तो वह दिन आने वाला है कि सब कम्युनिस्ट हो जावेंगे। मैं तो नहीं चाहता, हमारे जो आइडियाज (ideas) हैं उन में हम तो अभी भी चाहते हैं कि लोकशाही की पद्धति होनी चाहिये, ऐसा ही हमारा ख्याल है। ठीक कार्य न हुआ तो हम लोग मजबूर हैं।

एक माननीय सदस्य : सब हालत बदल जायगी।

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : बदल जायगी तब मैं आप के लिये ठीक बोलूंगा। लेकिन बदलने का मामला कोई दिखता नहीं है।

मुझे पांच मिनट का समय कृपा कर के थोड़ा सा कल दे दें।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : नहीं नहीं, अभी दो मिनट दूंगा।

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : नहीं नहीं, पांच मिनट दीजिये । मुझे बहुत कुछ कहने को है और मुझ को अभी और भी सजेशन (suggestions) करने को है ।

मैंने अभी शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट के बारे में, जो कुछ सजेशन्स किये हैं, मकान के बारे में, उन की आर्थिक हालत के बारे में सजेशन्स किये हैं उन पर अमल करना चाहिये । फिर जो कमिश्नर हैं तो वह शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट का होना चाहिये । एक संपरेट मिनिस्ट्री (separate Ministry) भी अछूतों की बननी चाहिये । जब तक यह संपरेट मिनिस्ट्री नहीं बनेगी, जैसे कि रिफ्यूजी मिनिस्टर तो हमारे जैन साहब बन गये, तब तक ठीक नहीं होगा । जैसे यह रिफ्यूजीज की मिनिस्ट्री बन गयी है वैसे ही एक शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट का संपरेट मिनिस्टर होगा तो उस से हमारे देश का और हमारा भी भला हो जायगा ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : श्री जगजीवन राम जी हैं ।

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : लेकिन उन को बेचारी को तो कम्युनिकेशन्स मिनिस्टर (Communications Minister) बन दिया है । तो जैसे दो मिनिस्टर मुसलमान बना दिये हैं एक दो और अछूत ले लें, उस से आप का क्या नुकसान होता है ? जब आप का हमारे ऊपर प्रेम है तो आप प्रेम बतलाते क्यों नहीं ? जगजीवन राम जी हैं ही, और दूसरे एक डिप्टी मिनिस्टर एक लेडी को आप ने कर दिया । वह बेचारी क्या करती, उन को हैल्थ डिपार्टमेंट दे दिया । वह उस का क्या करेगी ? वह तो अछूतों का सवाल है । मैं चाहता हूँ कि शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट के बारे में एक पक्की मिनिस्ट्री बन जाय जिस से हम लोग हर वक्त उन की तरफ से काम कर सकें, उन के पास जा सकें, तो जैसे रिफ्यूजी मिनिस्टर बन गये वैसे यह मिनिस्टर भी होना चाहिये ।

फिर इस के वास्ते भी मुझे कहना है कि हम को लीगल एड (legal aid) मिलनी चाहिये । जो आप ने हम लोगों के लिये एक डिपार्टमेंट खोला है वह सिर्फ शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट के वास्ते होना चाहिये । अमेरिका में जाइये, वहां नीग्रो के लिये कितना काम हो रहा है ।

एक सवाल मैं आप के पास और पेश करना चाहता हूँ । मैं काश्मीर में गया था । यह हम लोगों को जो कार्टीट्युशन में थोड़ा बहुत मिल रहा है वह पूरी तरह से नहीं है । मेरे पास हमारे डिप्टी होम मिनिस्टर (Deputy Home Minister) मि० दातार साहब ने एक लिस्ट भेजी है, उस में हम को कितना दिया है, क्लास १ में सिर्फ २९ आफिसर्स हैं, क्लास दो में ४८ हैं और क्लास सैंकड नान गजेटेड (non-gazetted) में १०० आफिसर्स शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट के हैं । यह सारे हिन्दुस्तान में हैं । इतनी हमारे ऊपर कांग्रेस की मेहरबानी है कि जहां करोड़ों अछूत लोग हैं उस में इतने हमारे अफसर हैं । मैं आप को यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि आजकल हम लोगों के लिये ठीक से काम नहीं होता । रेलवे में, डिफेंस में जो रिजर्वेशन का सवाल है वह हम लोगों को नहीं मिलती, अछूत और बैकवर्ड क्लास के नाम से हमारे लोग उस में रख लिये जाते हैं ।

अब उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं दो मिनट में ही एक बात और आप को कहना चाहता हूँ, मैं दूसरी बातें नहीं कहूंगा जिस से आप को रंज हो में ऐसा नहीं बोलता हूँ । उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अभी जम्मू में गया था तो वहां क्या होता है कि हम लोगों को नौकरी रिजर्वेशन, स्कोलरशिप्स (reservation scholarships) नहीं मिलती है । वहां तो पाकिस्तान थोड़े दिनों में होने वाला है ।

कई माननीय सदस्य : नहीं होगा ।

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : आप के ख्याल से नहीं होगा, लेकिन १९ पर सेंट मुसलमान काश्मीर में हैं। हम तो किसी के साथ नहीं हैं, हम ने तो इंडिपेंडेंट दृष्टि से देखा है कि वहाँ जंसी मार पीट हो रही है और जुल्म हो रहा है, गोलाबारी हो रहा है उस से पता नहीं हालत कहां तक जायगी। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय जी, मेरी प्रार्थना यह है कि जो हिन्दुस्तान में अछूतों के लिये हो रहा है वैसे ही कम से कम कांस्टीट्यूशन में जो कुछ हमारे अछूतों के लिये है वह वहाँ भी जन्म में होना चाहिये। इतना ही मुझे बोलना है और मुझे उम्मीद है कि हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर पंडित जी शेख अबदुल्ला को कहेंगे कि अछूतों के लिये भी काम करो। तभी कुछ होगा, नहीं तो देश का भला नहीं होगा। वहाँ पर चार लाख अछूतों की आबादी है और लोगों की हालत को देख कर मैं आया हूँ। तो उस का भी काम होना चाहिये, यह मैं आप से प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ। जैसे गांधी जी ने काम किया, डाक्टर अम्बेडकर ने काम किया, एम० सी० राजा ने काम किया, वैसे काम होना चाहिये।

तो यह जो कुछ मुझे कहना था, मैं ने कहा क्योंकि समय बहुत कम है। जो कुछ मैं ने कहा है उम्मीद है कि उस को अमल में लाने की कोशिश होगी। इतना बोल कर, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप ने जो कुछ मुझे टाइम दिया है उस के लिये आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ। आज के बजट में अछूतों के भले होने के लिये देशमुख साहब ने कोई खास प्रावधान रख दिया है, यह नहीं है। आप राशनिंग (rationing) करते हैं वैसे राशनिंग आफ हाउस-इ, राशनिंग आफ मरी वगैरह होना चाहिये, तो इस के लिये, अछूतों के लिये भी कुछ करो। तभी कुछ भला होगा। नहीं तो देश को बरबाद होने का टाइटम आने वाला है। अगर आप हमारा सवाल नहीं उठावेंगे तो हम को आप की नीति के खिलाफ आषाज्ज देश

में उठानी पड़ेगी। यह आप को नहीं भूलना चाहिये। मैं जौश में नहीं बोलता हूँ। लेकिन कुछ कांग्रेस के पिटू हरिजन खड़े कर के उन के बोलने से हरिजनों की हालत ठीक नहीं होगी और अच्छा काम नहीं चलेगा। आप को कुछ काम करना चाहिये।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We have spent away a lot of time on other business. Therefore, let us sit till 7-30.

Shri V. P. Nayar: When I rise to speak a few words on this jugglery of figures which we are obliged to call a Budget, I am reminded of the several instances of passive obedience and non-resistance which our Congress friends in this House have repeatedly shown to every sort of ill-conceived, ill-planned and ill-timed measures, brought before us by this Government. This Government's rule has driven the people from distress to misery and now from misery to despair. At this time the Finance Minister comes before us and in a very elegantly-worded Budget speech, tells us that here in this country we have got industrial prosperity, here in this country we have plenty! But what the Finance Minister has attempted to do is just to cover up the diseased economy, the crumbling economy of this country with the cloak of elegant words and, if I may say so, embroidered with certain figures the nature of which or the origin of which we do not know. The majority in this House, as we have seen, have always been very complacent, and systematically so, except perhaps in their patter of platitudes and in throwing in their cantankerous vituperation on this side; in both of which, of course, they have done justice to themselves.

But in spite of all that you will find that in regard to this Budget, which we all know for what it is worth, several adjectives have been found out. Some have said it is "cautious Budget"; others have said it is a "common man's Budget". And I heard in the Upper House a Congress leader describing this budget as a "shock-proof" Budget. It was a shocking Budget to me, to some of us. I underline the word "shocking". I have no hesitation to call this "honey-moon" Budget a make-believe Budget, a bankrupt Budget, an inflated Budget. I should even go to the extent of saying that this is a "parasitic" Budget. I say it is a parasitic Budget because this Government is drawing on the life blood of the

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people to make money. I will prove this with figures.

Ever since this Government was saddled in power, you find that the direct taxation, the taxation of the rich is going down and correspondingly there is an increase in indirect taxation of the poor. If the House is interested, I shall give some figures. In 1947-48—Congress Members please note—direct taxation was 44.1 per cent. in 1948-49, it was 43 per cent.; in 1949-50, 37 per cent. in 1950-51, 35.2 per cent.; in 1951-52, 29.2 per cent.; in 1952-53, 30.4 per cent. In the current year according to my calculations, it is only 28.3 per cent. Such is the proportion of direct taxation on the tax revenue of our State and that is why I said that the Government is sucking more money from the poor people from their blood. I do not find any expression which would suit this Budget other than calling it a parasitic Budget.

The Minister of Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): What are the corresponding figures for the U.S.S.R.?

Shri V. P. Nayar: You please go to U.S.S.R. and find out. We are discussing the Indian Budget. My hon. friend, if there is to be an exodus of refugees from India to U.S.S.R., can claim T.A. and go to U.S.S.R. to collect these statistics. Let him wait till then.

What is the real position of the country, I ask the hon. Minister there who is in charge? I do not find Mr. C. D. Deshmukh. We have heard in this House, the hon. lady Ministers in charge of Health—I should say of Diseases, because we have more people with diseases than healthy people—they have repeatedly told us that around us in India live five millions of people breathing death, with tuberculosis, in fact, blowing death into your own nostrils too. They have repeatedly told us that in this India that is, Bharat, we have cancer on the increase, we have typhoid on the increase, we have malaria which kills millions of people.....

Dr. M. M. Das: What is typhus? Typhus is found in Africa.

Shri V. P. Nayar: I think, I said typhoid—a doctor without practice and a lawyer with practice will make no difference in medicine.

I was saying that this is the actual position of the country. Day after day, the hon. the lady Ministers tell

us that every disease, known and unknown, is on the increase. My friend the hon. Dr. P. S. Deshmukh told us the other day that it is so not only in the case of human beings, but also for our cattle—about 30 per cent. of them are suffering from tuberculosis. That is the real position. I ask, are these not the indices of our prosperity? Are we not to judge the prosperity of India from the diseases which are so rampant in this country? What is the answer which they give or can give? I was surprised that the Finance Minister, with the very elegant phraseology—as elegant perhaps as his sartorial get-up—has not had a single word about these figures in his speech. According to him, we do not seem to have diseases at all! I say it is an insuperable aversion on the part of the Finance Minister to facts and figures revealing the misery of the people. He has conveniently forgotten the facts which are against him.

During the discussion in the Upper House.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The convention is not to discuss any speeches made there because one hon. Member might say it is wrong and so on. Therefore, as far as possible, this reference should be avoided.

Shri V. P. Nayar: I am not discussing the speech of an ordinary hon. Member, but unfortunately I happened to read Dr. Deshmukh's speech in the Library. This speech is made available to us and I want to discuss only one aspect which he has touched.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: A Minister's statement in the other House can be referred to but with respect to the speeches of individual Members, it is better to avoid them as far as possible.

Shri V. P. Nayar: I mean to draw attention only to the point put forward by Dr. Deshmukh the Minister of Agriculture, in defence of Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, the Finance Minister. In the discussion in the Upper House, Dr. P. S. Deshmukh told the House that what our comrade Shri Bhupesh Gupta said about the declining productivity of the soil of India is not true to facts and that he has figures to disprove Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's assertion. He went to the extent of saying that his Indian Council of Agricultural Research has done extensive work on this matter and come to the conclusion that there is only a progressive

upward tendency in the case of agricultural produce and there is no decline at all in the matter of food crops. I suppose he will agree with me when I say that he did say all these.

The Minister of Agriculture (Dr. P. S. Deshmukh): What I said was this. So far as the cash crops are concerned, there has been considerable improvement. So far as the food crops are concerned, there is neither consistent increase nor consistent decrease.

Shri V. P. Nayar: I have understood him in that manner and I will contradict him with figures which his chief has given us in this House. Dr. P. S. Deshmukh must first acclimatise himself with the figures in his Ministry, unless he is particularly keen on reaping a harvest of paradoxes. Let us not look at pre-Independent days' figures. We shall take post-Independent figures, "Independent" within quotation, of course. In 1947-48, the per acre yield of rice was 739 lbs. In 1948-49 it was 698 lbs., in 1949-50, it was 638 lbs., in 1950-51, it was 598 lbs. and in 1951-52 it was 632 lbs. This was given in answer to a question by Mr. K. K. Basu—page 359 of the debates. If Dr. Deshmukh has got these.....

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: I have all these figures. I can quote them by heart. There is no contradiction between the two statements. What the conclusions arrived at by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research were the tendencies so far as production were concerned and not merely every year's figures. There are many considerations, that are involved in working out the tendencies. There are scarcities in certain areas, there are floods and so on. The tendency cannot be reconciled with these figures which are purely arithmetical. My friend is quite wrong in comparing the two.

Shri V. P. Nayar: I am glad that Dr. Deshmukh says he has a heart and in it figures too. That is precisely why I said that Dr. Deshmukh, as Minister of Agriculture, should acclimatise himself first with figures. This is what Kidwai Sahab has given us and I, for one, always think that a decline from 739 lbs. per acre in 1947-48 to 632 lbs. per acre in 1951-52 is a definite decline in the productivity of one acre of land. It is simple arithmetic. That is how I understand it. If arithmetic has any value, that is the only possible construction which you can have on these revealing figures.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: That is not correct construction.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Minister can speak later, and reply, if he has not spoken already.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: I have not so far.

Shri V. P. Nayar: Similar is the case of wheat as well. The figures given by the hon. Minister of Food and Agriculture, Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai are such that I was almost wonder-struck when I read in the report of the debates, in the Council, how the Minister of Agriculture could muster so much of effrontery to tell the House.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Why should the hon. Member use such language as that? The hon. Minister will explain later, whatever is necessary. Let us come to conclusions.

Shri V. P. Nayar: Unfortunately, I have studied only the use of very apt words. I confess that I was almost surprised, but let us leave it to Dr. Deshmukh to answer them at a later stage.

Similarly Dr. Deshmukh has put forward another novel theory. I always thought, having heard him in this House for some time, that he will have a particular argument, and to put forward that argument, he will have some facts and figures, but here is a case where Dr. Deshmukh repudiated the remark made by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, only by saying that there is some apprehension that the area under cultivation in India is going down. I ask Dr. Panjab rao Deshmukh, through you, Sir, the question whether we are not having vast areas, hundreds of thousands of square miles as famine-stricken areas? Are famine-stricken areas to be taken as an index of growing area of agricultural land? Do we not have famine areas in Rayalaseema, in Rajasthan, in almost a half of Maharashtra, in Sunderbans and in almost every State now?

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: I think the figures quoted by my hon. friend from my speech do not refer to 1952. I think they refer to previous years, 1949-50 and 1950-51.

Shri V. P. Nayar: I thought that the hon. Minister was closely following me. I have passed on from figures to famine already and his interjection is very late now.

There seems to be an encroachment of deserts, which has been admitted in this House, and I think, if my memory is correct we have not only

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had experts for human birth control but we have also had some foreign experts, for the birth control of these deserts; and we have got down some foreign experts! Are these not facts upon which one can legitimately conclude that here in India, the area under cultivation is going down? Is it the proposition of the hon. Minister that increase in famine areas by hundreds of thousands of square miles and the encroachment of deserts, are something which suggest an increase in agricultural area?

I want to confront Dr. Deshmukh with another statement that he himself made at Calcutta—sometime back, not very, very long ago—on September 18th of last year.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: May I ask the hon. Member whether he means to say that the famine areas are increasing year by year?

Shri V. P. Nayar: Certainly, yes, most certainly, yes. What doubt is there?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Certainly not. Every year, there is famine in the land in some part of the country or other. Only two years ago, in our district, there was famine, much more extensive than it is now. There are many areas where famines do not persist.

Shri V. P. Nayar: These are all facts.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let the hon. Member continue, and explain to hon. Members his position.

Shri V. P. Nayar: The hon. Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava must know, Sir, that last year we had a terrible famine in Rayalaseema, while this year, we hear of so many other famines in other parts too. But let us not digress on that.

Dr. Deshmukh suggested a 'famine code amendment' in his speech at Calcutta. This is what he said:

"As a matter of fact, they did not know where to store food-grains, but the crux of the problem lay in the fact that people had no purchasing power. Unemployment amongst agricultural labourers was chronic."

I suppose that under the new thesis of Dr. Deshmukh, this chronic unemployment amongst agricultural labourers is also an index of increasing agricultural area. Otherwise I do not

find how agricultural land in India could show any improvement.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: Very illogical inferences.

An. Hon. Member: That is his habit.

Dr. M. M. Das: That is their prerogative.

Shri V. P. Nayar: Reason and logic are too difficult for those uncalled for commentators to digest, Sir. I suppose that Dr. Deshmukh is not a doctor of logic.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: I happen to be one.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: If the hon. Member goes on answering these things, his time would be cut. Let him go on in his own way.

Shri V. P. Nayar: I said that this Budget is parasitic, because you find that the money is realised by means of indirect taxation.

Dr. M. M. Das: But who is the parasite?

Shri V. P. Nayar: I will tell you who it is, and the doctor will find it then, if he does not know it already, by his own efforts. On page 31 of the Explanatory Memorandum, there is a figure of Rs. 74.91 crores, which is to be paid as interest this year, on loans. I am not against all loans, but certainly when a colossal loan is taken, and when that loan is entrusted to a Government to be frittered away by an administration, corroded by corruption, venality, and graft, I am certainly against it. That is the reason why we are against such loans. It is not merely because Government have taken a loan that we are against it, but because every one of the loans which they have got, has been frittered away by this administration. For the follies of your predecessors, for the loans accumulated by your imperialist predecessor, you are going to repay now—but from what source?—by taxing the poor, by indirectly taxing the poor, and such taxing meets about 37.5 per cent. of the expenses barring the expenses for defence. That is the real position. In that case, I want to point out to the House, one particular instance of an infamous loan, the most obnoxious loan, which is called the American wheat loan. It is not a loan, it is a noose round the neck of Indians, and I will presently show that at a time when in the United States of America, wheat was available at 75 to 85

dollars a ton for the best variety and when our peripatetic Prime Minister made frantic appeals in the U. S. soil, that they should come and help us with wheat loans, the U. S. Government sold us at 105 dollars per ton. You will also find that at a time when the U. S. public debts figure was.....

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance (Shri B. R. Bhagat): Where is this market information from?

Shri V. P. Nayar: If my hon. friend is interested, I shall give it immediately. It is published on page 17 of the *U.S. Congressional Records, HR 3017*.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: What quality of wheat?

Shri V. P. Nayar: The enthusiastic Parliamentary Secretary to the hon. Finance Minister may wait for some time, and I shall send him all the figures and their sources also. I think I will bear to take some pains to improve his equipment.

This infamous wheat loan, I may say, was offered to India with an air of unpremeditated, spontaneous gesture of Yankee generosity, but in reality it was not so. It was a means of making more money. If you go through the U.S. papers of those days, you will find that at a time when the United States of America could afford to feed her pigs and cattle, with ten million tons of wheat, of the best quality, and when there was, according to admissions by the U.S. officials in the House of Representatives and elsewhere, an uncommitted surplus of ten million tons of wheat, when India made this desperate appeal, they were dicker with the whole question, dilly-dallying it and then they deliberately delayed it. It was not until seven months after the original demand was made, that the loan was sanctioned, with all that unpremeditated gesture of Yankee generosity, as I said a little earlier. For this loan, which we never wanted at such fantastic rates, the original shipping rates were fixed at ten dollars a ton, from America to India, on the condition—and I would very much like to be contradicted, if I am wrong—that half at least of the quantity of the two million tons of food-grains supplied to India must be transported or shipped by U.S. shipping agencies. At that time, U.S. shipping

agencies had a monopoly of Indo-U.S. shipping. And we find that out of the two million tons, about 1·90 million tons or so went to the United States ultimately. To pursue their policy of spontaneous generosity about which Truman himself extolled at length, we find that the freight rate was raised at the eleventh hour from 10 to 25 dollars, which cost our people about 20 to 25 million American dollars. I may not be very correct in this figure, but it is anyway not less than 25 million dollars. This is the infamous wheat loan about which gramophone records of praises are played from the top to the bottom without shame. Now we have to repay that loan, and a sum of about Rs. 226 lakhs will have to be paid as interest. Such was the abominable wheat loan. I shall leave the wheat loan at that. (*Interruption.*) Do not worry. My Party has some time.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am afraid, the hon. Member must conclude in a minute. I have already given 20 minutes to the hon. Member.

Shri V. P. Nayar: Can I not continue tomorrow? You give me five minutes more.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have already given 20 minutes.

Shri V. P. Nayar: From those 20 minutes, Dr. Panjab rao Deshmukh took five minutes, and Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava two minutes. The Finance Minister has told us that we are in a wonderland of industrial prosperity. I cannot use words which are as elegant as that, but the figures show that what he has stated, if I may put it in very simple language, is absolute bunk. Here is the record.

On page five of the journal, *Industry and Trade*—January 1953 volume—there is a reference to the present condition of several industries. Thirty-four industries are mentioned, out of which 17 are on definite decline. Two are stationary. Still, the Finance Minister comes before us and says, we are having industrial prosperity! I wish to make a point very clear. This will convince the House that to call this as industrial prosperity is fantastic nonsense. Take the case of textiles. They say 4,800 million yards were produced in 1952-53. The average per capita availability of cloth was over 16·7 yards. Even then you may remember that the Indians were called by outsiders as half naked people. Today, it is only 9·7 yards.

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So we are three-fourths naked now. Perhaps the Finance Minister will come before us as the exponent of the cult of nudism in order to justify the export of cloth and thus favour the gentlemen of the bourgeoisie to which he has had life long friendship. This is the type of industrial progress which we have and yet we are told, that here we have all progress! We have production of umpteen industries going up; Well and good. We have umpteen plus one industries falling down also. That, the Finance Minister pretends, not to have seen, and he has not got anything to say about it. It is absolutely foolish for anybody to think of industrial progress without tackling the question of the establishment of key industries and bettering the prospects of basic industries like the metallurgical industries, heavy chemicals industries and engineering industries.

Unless you do that, any industrial prosperity that you think you can build up, would amount only to building up castles in the air. Whatever be the economy, mixed they may call it, romantic it may be, being mixed, we shall never have mixed economy. We cannot even have mixed economy if you go on with this policy of making big business tighten its pincer hold around small industries. I see my hon. friend shaking his head there. We will have to shake his head much more to shake out his responsibility. He has admitted several times that small factories have closed down in this country. When I put a direct, leading question the other day, to him, as to whether it was not because of the monopoly of the WIMCO that several match factories have closed down, the all-knowing Commerce Minister was chary enough not to commit himself against big business and he claimed notice. Look at the case of the automobile industry. Take the case of any other industry. When I say small factories, I do not mean the automobile industry. In all the other cases, the small factories are being closed down.

One point more.....

Some Hon. Members: How long are we to sit?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I hope this point will be short.

Shri V. P. Nayar: The point is always short, Sir. In spite of the fact that a picture is sought to be painted in very bright colours about industrial prosperity, we know that in

my part of the country, owing to the crisis in the handloom industry, owing to the crisis in the coir industry, hundreds or thousands of people are being pushed to the gates of death. Not a single word is mentioned about that. While I find that the Expert Commission appointed by the expert the hon. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari have made a reference to this and said that even at the peak time, the coir worker got only eleven annas or twelve annas and hundreds of thousands of people are without food, no reference is made to that. Take the case of the handloom industry. It is stated that the production in 1939 was 1,500 to 1,800 million yards. We have only a production of 750 million yards now. They say our Indian mills are producing more yarn. Where is the yarn if it is not available for the handloom industry in this country?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Here it is, yarn.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is it 13,000 million yards?

Shri V. P. Nayar: 1,500 to 1,800 million yards. Under such circumstances, industry will flourish only in the imagination of our friends over there. You can take it from me that the industrial structure of India is crumbling.

I would very much like to be contradicted by Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari on a specific issue.

An Hon. Member: I doubt very much if the House is working with the quorum.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House has got quorum.

Shri V. P. Nayar: I am finishing, Sir. The Chair will take care of itself. The hon. Member need not worry.

This is a matter in which I would very much like myself to be contradicted. There was a rumour, a very reliable rumour that those who trade in rubber, led by Mr. A. V. Thomas, M.P., waited in a deputation on the Commerce Minister. Some Members have personally told me of this. At a time when 5,000 tons of rubber could not be sold and as you know, Sir, rubber cannot be kept on for ever and ever, when they wanted to find a market and waited in deputation on Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari—it is open to Mr. Krishnamachari to contradict me—Mr. Krishnamachari told Mr. A. V. Thomas and others that he could

not grant them an interview to take something from them and asked them to take this * * *

I reliably understand that the matter is before the Prime Minister.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All that need not be taken down.

Shri V. P. Nayar: I would like to be contradicted by the Commerce Minister. Nobody would be happier than I if this incident had not taken place.

I would only appeal to the Prime Minister, who is unfortunately absent at the moment, that he should take a more realistic view and apprise the people of the actual situation in the country. This has never been done

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

under the present circumstances. The best way to make an honest attempt is that he should call his Minister of Education—because we have more illiteracy in the country—as the Minister of Illiteracy. He should call his Health Minister as the Minister of Diseases and he should call his Minister of Food and Agriculture as the Minister of Famine and Starvation. His Finance Minister must be styled as the Minister of Bankruptcy. That ought to be the basis or appraisal of the realistic situation around us.

I thank you very much, Sir, for the indulgence you have shown me and I thank the House also.

The House then adjourned till Two of the Clock on Tuesday, the 10th March, 1953.